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Kohl rules out early move on modernising missiles

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

In stating in Bonn that a decision on modernising short-range missiles was not due until after 1990 Chancellor Kohl sought to clarify a debate that had suddenly been reheated.

It is a matter of replacing 88 US Lance missiles stationed in Germany about which America and Britain are particularly keen on reaching a modernisation decision now.

"The Lance will remain adequate and intact until 1995," the Chancellor said in an interview with the London *Financial Times*. "The real decision on the production (of a successor system) will not be due until 1991/92."

Bonn government spokesman Friedhelm Ost said the Chancellor would be holding intensive discussions with Bonn's allies on this issue: he intended to influence accordingly Nato's overall arms control and disarmament concept.

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which was due to be drafted early this summer. Bonn wants to ensure that the Nato concept includes options with regard to a possible missile modernisation but postpones any decision on the subject until after fresh disarmament talks have clarified the future of short-range nuclear missiles.

Foreign Minister Genscher, FDP, is particularly keen to see the West's disarmament concept mainly include an offer of far-reaching reciprocal elimination of short-range missiles.

This, however, is a viewpoint that is not uniformly held either within Nato or within the Bonn coalition.

Washington and Whitehall would sooner see a decision now on modernising the missiles even though preliminary talks within Nato have shown for some time that a decision so far in advance of the 1995 replacement deadline is not necessary.

Within the Bonn government Defence Minister Scholz for one would clearly prefer an early decision. He has said as much but was called to order by the Chancellor.

So the Chancellor's interview with a British newspaper was clearly intended partly for domestic consumption.

His opposition to an immediate decision on missile modernisation may be in keeping with the results of December 1988 coalition talks, but they were not meant to be the last word on the subject. The talks are shortly to be resumed.

Free Democrats, doubtless including the Foreign Minister, were evidently worried lest advocates of modernisation prevail at the last minute.

If they were to do so the Chancellor would now have to eat his words. So his interview was hailed both at the Foreign Office and by the FDP as a welcome clarification.

Bonn diplomats see the Chancellor as having mainly demonstrated his firm intention of not allowing himself to be pressurised by Washington and Whitehall.

There was some speculation about what the Chancellor might have meant by "the real decision." It was probably a reference to the wish to include in *Nato's forthcoming policy concept the* option of missile modernisation at a later date.

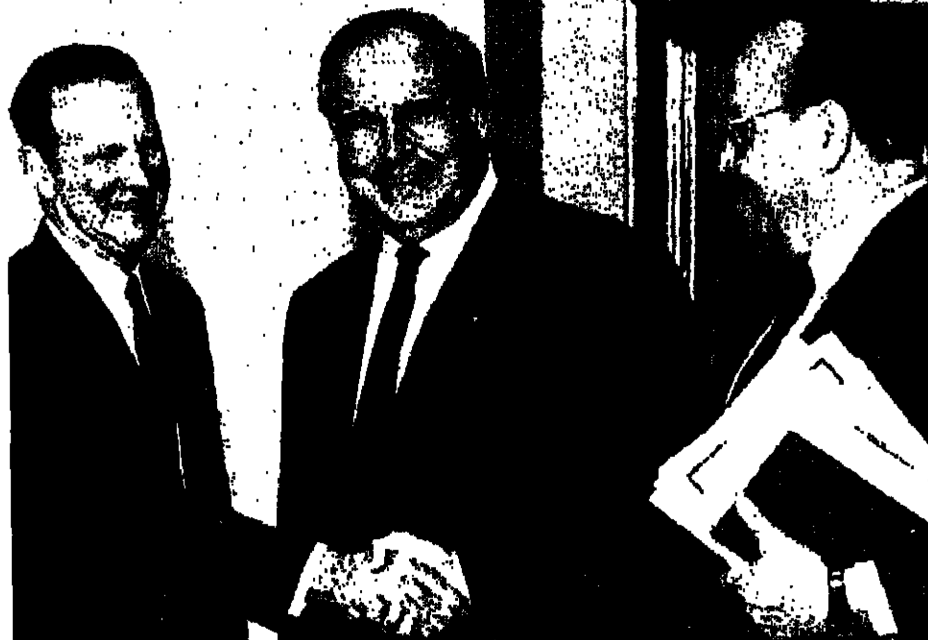
Yet Herr Kohl clearly ruled out scrapping short-range missiles entirely. "I am definitely opposed to a third zero," he said. "A third zero solution would no longer maintain our security."

He sounded confident that the Nato countries would arrive at a joint solution after sensible discussions. "To play each other off against each other would be the silliest thing we could do," he said. "The Soviet Union would *then be the winner.*"

He was equally unimpressed by attempts to make the modernisation issue a touchstone of German loyalty to Nato, saying:

"If others see it as a kind of litmus test that doesn't interest me in the least. My duty is to stand up for German interests, and I am a reliable partner."

Thomas Meyer
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 February 1989)



Chancellor Helmut Kohl (centre), Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (right) and American Secretary of State James Baker. Mr Baker was in Bonn for talks on East-West relations, the 1992 European internal market and short-range nuclear weapons. (Photo: Spiegl)

Foreign policy: busy time on all fronts

Foreign policymakers in Bonn have an unusually heavy schedule covering all major sectors in the months ahead.

Now President Bush has assumed office in the United States the main emphasis must be on eliminating transatlantic irritations, both sides being keen to do so as soon as possible in view of forthcoming joint tasks.

That was one of the purposes of Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Bonn where he held a lengthy discussion with Foreign Minister Genscher on the eve of his talks with Chancellor Kohl.

Diplomatic circles in the German capital are working on the assumption that Nato will be back in step by the time it meets in London in late-May or early-June for its proposed 40th anniversary gathering.

It will then present its new overall concept — as a joint basis for a constructive Western response to the East's disarmament offensive — and end the dispute over Lance missile modernisation.

Earlier gatherings will include the 3-4 April London meeting of the WEU Council of Ministers, including Spain and Portugal for the first time, and Franco-German government consultations in Paris on 19-20 April, including the inaugural session of a joint security council.

In the first six months of 1989 crucial decisions will need to be reached by the European Community if the internal market deadline is to be met at the end of 1992.

The European Commission's economic and monetary affairs report is due to be submitted to member-countries in time for the European Council meeting in Madrid on 26-27 June, giving Community leaders an opportunity to agree on initial moves toward a currency union.

Other important issues will be the shape social affairs are to take within the European Community and relations with Efta and Eastern Europe.

At the same time the CSCE conference schedule for the years ahead is due to get under way:

- In Vienna Foreign Ministers will meet on 6 March to open the conferences on conventional forces in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures.
- In London a four-week information forum will begin on 18 April. Bonn is hopeful it will lead to substantial improvements in the dissemination and exchange of information and in working conditions for journalists all over Europe.
- In Paris the first of three human rights conferences, also scheduled to last four weeks, will begin on 30 May. It will deal with an information, appeal and review system for human rights issues.

At the same time the UN disarmament conference will continue to discuss a global ban on chemical weapons in Geneva, while a date for resuming Start talks on halving their strategic nuclear potential will depend on how negotiation plans in Washington shape up.

Two outstanding events will be the keynotes of Bonn's Ostpolitik:

One is the 12-15 June visit to Bonn by the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachov, for which Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will be in Bonn for preparatory talks in the second half of March.

The other will be Kohl's visit to Warsaw, planned for early summer, in preparation for which Polish Foreign Minister Olechowski is due to visit Bonn in March.

The seven leading Western industrial countries will meet in Paris from 14 to 16 July for the Western economic summit; it will coincide with the bicentennial celebrations of the French Revolution.

Wolf J. Bell
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 9 February 1989)

■ INTERNATIONAL

Soviets edge themselves out of Afghanistan — but now comes the tough part

Moscow's bloody war in Afghanistan is coming to an abrupt end — as swiftly as the last grains of sand running through an hour-glass.

It lasted nine years, much longer than World War II, including artillery and aerial bombardment along the lines of the "free fire zones" in Vietnam.

Imperialist intervention, religious war and tribal feuds have cost nearly one million lives, not to mention countless children maimed and over five million people who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

Villages, fields and infrastructure (inasmuch as it existed) have been destroyed. The country has relapsed into the Middle Ages.

Since Mr Gorbachov came to power in Moscow the Soviet Union has done all it can to end the war without losing it. But there was no averting political defeat.

Last bids in Pakistan and Iran, in Saudi Arabia and in Rome, to negotiate periods of grace and transitional arrangements after the Soviet troop withdrawal have all failed.

The last Soviet troops may be out of the hell that is Afghanistan by mid-February, but the Soviet Union will for years pay a heavy toll for a military commitment Mr Gorbachov has referred to as the "sins of old."

From mid-February the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan with its tribal feuds and its calls for an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth will wreak the Prophet's vengeance on the three neighbouring Soviet republics where ethnic clashes are religiously motivated and the green banner of Islam has already been raised against Moscow.

That is why comparisons with the US withdrawal from Vietnam are fundamentally inaccurate. What can be said is that in Afghanistan the Soviet Union has been the last of the victorious World War II Allies to find out for itself that the military success of expansion or even of imperial reflexes can no longer be guaranteed.

Britain and France were toppled from their imperial pedestals in Asia, in Suez and in Algeria. Twenty years after the French the Americans too were shaken out of their fantasies of omnipotence in Vietnam.

Yet none of these bitter withdrawals was from a terrain in which fundamental religious and ethnic counter-attacks seemed likely to be launched on the territory of the departing great power.

This is the specific danger on the southern periphery — the soft underbelly — of the Soviet multinational state. In Afghanistan the Islamic front can now close ranks from the Caucasus to the Hindukush.

The painful revision of a devastating decision reached by an ossified Soviet leadership in 1979 thus deserves twofold respect.

For Soviet politicians of reform it is much more than an inevitable withdrawal to be got over with and forgotten as soon as possible — and offset by a fresh round of muscle-flexing.

It is — and continues to be — the most complicated part of a risky operation aimed at eliminating the military hypertrophy of Soviet politics.

The inglorious withdrawal impresses most painfully on the Soviet military elite the significance of this curtailment of their duties and of their special role in holding together a multinational state.

It brings home to politruks and to the Soviet arms industry what Mr Gorbachov expects of the Soviet empire.

He expects it to forgo world revolution and proletarian internationalism, to set aside military patriotism and Tsarist great power tradition and to cut military manpower while social security is on the decline, fewer jobs are guaranteed, the supply situation is appalling and ethnic tension is on the increase.

And all for the sake of distant hopes of reform proving a success!

Whether the withdrawal from the Hindukush will strengthen the hand of reformers in the Soviet armed forces and Soviet society will depend to a crucial extent on how the situation in and around Afghanistan develops.

It may benefit those among the military and advocates of power politics who see the move as no more than an ignominious self-mutilation.

For Mr Gorbachov three issues are now crucial. They are:

- How can a rupture of Soviet society be averted?
- How can his hostile neighbour be pacified?
- How can the emergence of a second militant Islamic state on the Soviet Union's southern periphery be prevented?

The rupture of society: Soviet TV news coverage of the withdrawal has been accompanied by documentary footage that until recently would have been inconceivable, with cameras panning long rows of cripples, crutches and crosses in cemeteries.

As Soviet reform commentator Grigorij Baklanov put it last summer at the 19th Party conference:

"The fate of those who were killed in action in Afghanistan has become that of the entire people.... Mothers are asking how it could happen, who was to blame and can we be sure there will be no repetition.

"We can't. We must establish a mechanism that rules out a repetition of such goings-on. Society as a whole must not always bear the blame; we want to be able to name the culprits."

Baklanov was catcalled by a majority of delegates, and they stood for more than mere incorrigible military men.

They were fathers whose sons would now appear to have died for nothing. They included many Soviet soldiers who had seen service in Afghanistan — demoralised returnees.

They include the Soviet commander-in-chief, Boris Gromov, the last Soviet soldier to leave Afghanistan on 15 February.

At the 19th Party conference he was applauded by a majority of delegates as he replied to Com. Baklanov that: "With our help the Republic of Afghanistan has been maintained as an independent, friendly state."

Yet Moscow has failed miserably to achieve this particular objective, and that is why the future of Afghanistan may influence the fate of Soviet reform policies for a long time to come.

The neighbourhood problem. One of the many tragic circumstances that accompanied the Soviet adventure in Afghanistan, in defiance of international law, is that Afghanistan today is less than ever a part of the world where Mr Gorbachov's New Thinking in respect of the "priority of general human values" is in a position to hold its own.

Freedom or tyranny, human rights or collectivism — these are alternatives that were not available even before the Soviet invasion. Afghanistan was always a country where landlords and mullahs laid down archaic rules of conduct for tenants and agricultural workers.

Its first medical school was not founded until 1932, followed in 1946 by Kabul University.

These first steps toward modernisation intensified clashes in a country of self-destructive tribal feuds with no firm loyalty toward a central government.

One bitter irony of fate is that a moderate socialist leadership might best be able to implement the most urgently needed reforms in a country with the world's highest infant mortality, with the most appalling health care and with the inhuman fundamentalism of a variety of Islamic groups and hill tribes with military objectives but not, as yet, civil ones.

But the Soviet invasion has ended for years any prospects of social reform.

The diplomacy of damage limitation. In this hopeless situation the Soviet Union has in recent months constantly banked on a strategy of international appeasement.

In his spectacular speech to the General Assembly in New York Mr Gorbachov called for a conference to be held under the UN's auspices to demilitarise Afghanistan. The basic aim of all his last-minute moves has been to prevent the emergence of an Islamic republic by the grace of militant mujahedeen.

The West must be equally appalled at the prospect of such a bloodstained future for the hard-hit country, and that is why it is equally important for the United States to draw up a political concept for the future of Afghanistan.

Arms in, Russians out was too primitive an approach even before the Soviet withdrawal, and the Americans are no longer in a position to exert constructive influence on the Afghan resistance.

In the post-war era not only the invaders of yesteryear but also the United States will face tough tasks: in Afghanistan itself, in the region, and in superpower relations. *Christian Schmidt-Häuer*

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 February 1989)

The about turn in Poland and Hungary

Specialists in East Bloc affairs would have been laughed out of court for forecasting in 1984 that in five years' time trade union and political pluralism would be on the agenda in socialist countries.

Five years ago Yuri Andropov was dying and Konstantin Chernenko, a friend of Mr Brezhnev's, was preparing to take over as Soviet leader.

There were clear signs of domestic stagnation and a tougher approach toward the West. In Poland the ice age was still in full freeze, and the situation in other self-styled socialist countries was not much better.

The scenario has since undergone a fundamental change. Even professional observers are finding it hard to keep up with the pace of reform.

Since Mr Gorbachov came to power in Moscow it has no longer been so easy to exactly define the viewpoint of the Party in the Soviet Union or, for that matter, in Hungary or Poland.

Differing viewpoints and public disputes have long been everyday events — at least in Moscow, Budapest and Moscow.

One ideological position after another is being abandoned, leaving the conservative German daily newspaper *Die Welt* wondering, in amazement, whether the Hungarian Communist Party is in the throes of a transformation to Social Democracy.

This stage has not yet been reached, but the change that is taking place is nothing less than breathtaking. In Hungary and Poland in particular the departure from Stalinist and bureaucratic structures is a fact readily apparent in economic policy.

Sobered by the failures of the past 40 years, Communist leaders are abandoning strict economic planning and discovering the advantages of allowing market forces a freer rein.

They have come to realise, moreover, that economic reconstruction is bound to be piecemeal unless it is flanked by social and political reforms.

The Hungarians have so far made the most striking progress in this direction. A member of the politbureau, Imre Pozsgay, has publicly called for a reappraisal of the 1956 uprising, previously rated counter-revolutionary, while he and others advocate approval of the establishment of competing political parties.

In the Hungarian Parliament Communist members have called for the country's official name to be changed from Hungarian People's Republic to Republic of Hungary.

With ideas such as these in circulation it is hardly surprising that the "leading role of the Party" as laid down in the constitution is also being called into question.

The Polish Communist Party has also embarked on surprisingly courageous steps forward. It plans to delete key concepts of Marxist-Leninist terminology. There is to be no more "class struggle" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is also to be struck from the Party's statutes.

As in Hungary, there are Communists in Poland who talk in terms of pluralism and are convinced that a reform of the Party will be impossible unless accompanied by a fundamental transformation of society.

That isn't to say that they are already

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

CDU, outflanked on the right, faces a strategic dilemma



It's a bit like watching the rerun of an old film: 11 years ago, after the SPD and the FDP formed a coalition government, a new party, the Greens, emerged on the SPD's left.

Now, six years after the FDP moved over to form a coalition with the CDU-CSU, the same has happened out on the right flank of the conservatives — the Republicans have emerged.

The reasons are similar in both cases. The tendency of the major coalition partners to try and occupy the centre ground of the political spectrum in order to broaden electoral appeal.

But in each case, both with the SPD and the conservative union, it activated the factions on the party fringes.

In Helmut Schmidt's time, Erhard Eppler dramatically recommended moving to the left, symbolised by the demands for dispensing with nuclear energy and renouncing armaments. In fact he only achieved the opposite to his intention.

As Eppler had turned the Greens into a problem for the SPD in power, they found a comfortable place for themselves in the Federal Republic's party structure.

Now its the right-wing of the CDU-CSU, people such as Jürgen Gerhard Todenhöfer, Heinrich Lummer, the CSU secretary-general Erwin Huber and others, who are recommending moving to the right, and they suspect that CDU general-secretary Heiner Geissler is to blame for the Republican Party success in West Berlin.

At this point the similarity of the groupings ceases. The CDU-CSU have more room for tactical manoeuvre in their attempt to win back protest voters than the SPD in its dealings with the ecological and peace movements.

Although all over the world "true socialism" has revealed its political bankruptcy, Marxist ideas have not yet lost their appeal for various groups on the left of our political spectrum.

The painful lesson from the Hitler period, however, will for years to come keep people watchful against totalitarian, right-wing muddle-heads.

Inhibitions as regards the right are still intact. This was shown in Berlin by the great number of abstentions, people who were not prepared to give their vote to Franz Schönhuber, leader of the extreme-right Republican Party.

Voters had no inhibitions when the Greens got elected into federal parliaments and threatened the SPD majority at a national level as well.

Were Helmut Kohl really to consider looking after CDU voters on the right better, he could limit his concern, comparatively, that the Republicans would become the main beneficiaries of such a change of course.

Rather must he think of the consequences, which are the concern of the Chancellor and not the chairman of the CDU: his policies towards Moscow and Warsaw appear in an unfavourable light as does Bonn's position on disarmament.

Kohl cannot return to routine politics even if he emphasises that the CDU, after the Berlin election, still remains a party of the centre.

Voters in Berlin signalled to the CDU that there are limits to the risky excursions CDU general-secretary Heiner Geissler can make to the left of centre. Baden-Württemberg voters did just the same thing, admittedly in a more jarring way.

Geissler over-estimated the faith of the CDU's regular voters, when he began to disregard conservative principles and moved to the left, making the CDU-CSU's political ideas more attractive to SPD and FDP voters, to attract them into the conservative camp.

It was not possible to press ahead in many fields of social policies and so venture into the voting preserves of the SPD and FDP, without throwing overboard conservative ballast.

This is true for the out-dated women's image in the CDU-CSU, family policies, the balance between economy and ecology, and the discussion about human rights the world over.

It was also vital to shunt into a corner the cold war warriers of the displaced persons associations, if the CDU intends becoming an internationally credible partner in moves for the relaxation of tensions between East and West.

That Geissler was on the point of straining the political span of the CDU as a national party was shown most recently at the party debate on Paragraph 218 in the civil code covering abortion last year, then in the week before the Berlin election with his statement about "Germany in the frontiers of the year nineteen something," and his comments about a multiculture society.

These challenges were unnecessary because they put the CDU-CSU to an endurance test.

Caution should have been displayed since the CDU-CSU lost the leader of the troops giving covering fire from the right wing with the death of Franz Josef Strauss.

For this reason the CDU must not march towards the right. The party can learn from Lothar Späth, Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg, as regards aliens policies. In matters concerning asylum he has always gripped the initiatve through the Bundesrat, the Upper House. *Jörg Bischoff*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 7 February 1989)

A missing link between parties, people

Have the people's parties walked out on the people? The loyal party voter who could be depended on to vote for "his" party no matter what, is becoming more and more a rarity.

It cannot be accidental that the turnout at elections, as recently happened in Berlin, is dropping all the time, the decisive factors in the gains and losses calculations on election night are becoming ever greater, and that opinion polls, once so competent, have come to grief in election after election.

The number of critical citizens is growing, citizens who just before they vote are not tied down to any party and who obviously vote depending on the last minute performance of the candidates.

The pollsters and particularly politicians must gear themselves to extensive changes in the political landscape.

The same cause is at the bottom of the boredom with elections which many citizens feel; the change from traditional voting patterns and at the same time pointed preferential treatment for small fringe parties.

There is no longer any understanding between politicians and citizens as there used to be.

Either the people's parties do not recognise the worries and anxieties voters have or they deal with the public in a formal and stereotyped language, which creates many misunderstandings and as a result displeasure.

Characteristic of the situation is the amazement of, sometimes indignant head-shaking by, senior politicians in Bonn that their achievements in government cannot be conveyed to the people more insistently.

The confusion about reform of the health services is a marvellous example of the poor presentation of a good, but urgent, innovative reform.

No-one should be surprised at reactions of protest: officials have not been able to make clear to people why there can be no other course of action and have strengthened existing scepticism in the reforms by contradictions.

The confidence in the independence, competence and credibility of the established parties and their representatives has been affected detrimentally by a whole series of scandals in politics, so creating frustration among citizens.

Policies concerning aliens and asylum-seekers have seriously created increasing irritation. It is no accident, that people who make terrible simplifications, such as Franz Schönhuber from Bavaria, leader of the Republican Party, become very popular in Berlin, because they take up a problem in their own way which is obviously of concern to many people.

The discussion in Hamburg about voting rights for foreigners in local elections has stirred up more emotions. It is asked: why should a guest be able to have a say in the decoration of the host's home?

It is assumed that the rejecting stance of the coalition partners in Bonn corresponds to the prevailing mood in the country.

It is a phenomenon of the post-war period that despite affluence and good living standards there is a widespread mood of depression.

Political uncertainty cannot be got the better of through just being active or demonstrative shows of strength. The only thing that can help is a clear, comprehensible statement of the course being taken. People want to know what is happening, in domestic and foreign policies.

If in the course of reforms old rights have to be changed then this should be said bluntly, and citizens should be told in good time the truth in matters concerning where disarmament should come to an end and where the modernisation of the weapons' arsenal should begin.

"It is risky for everyone if politicians and voters talk with one another at cross purposes for too long term." *Hermann Dexheimer*

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 4 February 1989)

SPD maps out route to general election

SPD chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel must now find comfort with Comrade Bertolt Brecht. Playwright Brecht is famous for the quote: "Now let's make a plan," but he soon learned that things did not always turn out as planned.

Cunningly, two principles as basics for the Social Democrats' strategy for the 1990 general election have been readied, fished out of the errors made in the 1987 election campaign.

First, the selection of the chancellor candidate will be made late, about six months before election day.

The last SPD chancellor candidate, Johannes Rau, came to grief in this way. He obtained an absolute majority in the North Rhine-Westphalia state elections. He was prematurely put up as the SPD challenger only to be badly roughed-up in the actual election year.

Second, the tiresome alliance discussion must be avoided at any price: if the SPD goes into the election with coalition commitments to the Greens its chances will be considerably reduced from the beginning.

After the Berlin election only the first condition of the SPD's strategy remains. Oskar Lafontaine must defend his absolute majority in the Saar early in 1990. He could then be an alternative to Hans-Jochen Vogel as chancellor candidate, so that the principle of declaring a candidate late in the run-up would remain.

After the Berlin elections the alliance discussion has caught up with the SPD a lot earlier than can be pleasant for them.

From the point of view of the SPD nationwide, the victory in Berlin is like a cactus: lovely to look at but hard to grasp.

Officials at SPD headquarters in Bonn are speaking sceptically, if they say anything at all.

What about a grand coalition? Firstly, the idea of a coalition between the CDU and the SPD is tempting to the SPD because it would allow them to show they are competent to govern. But then the SPD would be helping to keep in power those whom the electorate had shown it did not want in Berlin's Town Hall.

What is more frightening is that a process which has been put in motion cautiously would be interrupted: The SPD has won back the first voters whom the party lost to the Greens.

Should there be a grand coalition in Berlin these gains would promptly be thrown away again — a displeasing prospect in view of the many local and state elections that are coming up.

For Vogel there is no question that a grand coalition in Berlin would encourage fringe groups on the left and the right.

What about a coalition with the Alternative List, the Berlin offshoot of the Greens? Such an alliance would be against the prompt statement made by SPD leader in Berlin Walter Momper on election night that he would never make an alliance with the Alternative List.

A governing mayor who started his term in office breaking his word would not get very far.

The naivity (or lack of scruple) of the Berlin comrades who believe they can

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■ POLITICS

The issue that just wouldn't go away

It's sometimes like the theatre. Down comes the curtain here, and up it goes there. Politics. Elections.

The Berlin curtain had barely descended this month when the parties began shifting the sets to the next venues: Bonn, Munich, Stuttgart and Hamburg. And beating the drums on the issue of the season.

Ironically, this issue happens to be policy towards foreigners — which is not the best issue for the parties to make a noise about: neither the CSU, the CDU, the FDP nor the SPD have covered themselves with glory here in the past.

At the beginning of the 1970s it was already clear that most foreign workers intended staying in Germany for a long time or even for ever.

The kebab grill on the corner, the Italian grocer's shop and the Greek restaurant were merely outward signs.

The politicians opted out of decision making. Instead of fostering integration and taking steps to ensure that those who did want to stay at least were made a decent offer, they continued to refer to *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) and tinkered about clumsily and unsuccesfully with the 1965 Aliens Act.

Only a few politicians — such as the former Premier of North Rhine-Westphalia, and later on Bonn government commissioner for foreigners, Heinz Kühn, saw the writing on the wall and faced up to reality by openly pointing out that the Federal Republic of Germany was developing into a de facto immigration country.

In the meantime, the figures speak for themselves. In 1987 4.6 million foreigners lived in the federal territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and in West Berlin.

Sixty per cent of these foreigners have already been living here for ten years or more; over two-thirds of foreign children were born here, and their percentage share is rising.

For most foreigners, therefore, the Federal Republic of Germany has become their second home. Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart of Munich have become the centre of their lives.

They have long since ceased to be just "guests", even if many a dyed-in-the-wool politician, such as the chairman of the CDU parliamentary party in the Bundestag, Alfred Dregger, continues to emphatically claim the opposite.

The only "guests" — if at all — were the first groups of foreign workers who came to Germany.

They came during the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s and were only hired to help create the West German economic miracle, the *Wirtschaftswunder*, for a limited period.

Those migrant workers, however, who decided to stay in their second home at the peak of the 1965/66 economic crisis or who still came here to work after the recruitment ban in 1973, have moved here during the past few decades or were born here during the past few decades are all anything but "guests." They are de facto "immigrants" or "residents of foreign nationality."

No-one can ignore this fact in future. The crucial question, therefore, is not so much which is the most elegant way of "limiting" the number of foreigners, but how to turn those who want to stay into citizens *with equal rights*. Hamburg's "answer to Berlin" (a phrase coined by Hamburg's FDP leader, Ingo von Münch) has "only" symbolic significance.

The real cornerstone of the new policy towards foreigners (at least in the opinion of the wiser politicians in the various parties, such as the Bonn government's commissioner for foreigners, Liselotte Funke, the major Church groups, a number of trade unions and numerous foreigner and immigrant groups) is not franchise for foreigners at local government level.

What is needed is a fundamental amendment of nationality and naturalisation laws, not just cosmetic alterations such as those suggested by Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann.

Immigrants can only be spared the incessant squabbling about government policy on foreigners by becoming Germans, a move which would give their plans for the future a sound basis.

The obstacles to acquiring German nationality laid down in the age-old law introduced in 1913 are difficult to surmount.

They are worded in such a way that many Germans, including ministers, would find it difficult to qualify for the privilege.

After all, who leads a life with a completely *unblemished* reputation, in which not even *dismissed* criminal proceedings are allowed to stain the clean sheet?

The biggest obstacle to clear, however, is still the ban on multiple nationality introduced in 1963. Anyone who wants to become a German has to hand in his old passport.

A Turk, for example, would then not only lose part of his identity, but also lose his right to inherit his father's farm in East Anatolia — a conflict of loyalties which is almost impossible to overcome.

The professors of law Helmut Rittstieg (Hamburg) and Manfred Zuleeg (Frankfurt) feel that it is high time this stipulation was dropped "if the integration of the foreigners residing in this country is the true goal."

The urgently needed amendment of the nationality and naturalisation laws (which should include the automatic acquisition of German nationality by children born in this country) is not, however, a panacea.

This will not eliminate the ethnic, religious and cultural problems involved. Pussyfooting around awkward problems would be the wrong way to express solidarity.

The situation depicted in films such as *40 qm Deutschland* and *Yasemin* are bitter reality. Social workers and teachers are not simply making up stories when they describe how some Turkish men treat their women like prisoners and do not allow their daughters to go to school or attend swimming lessons, let alone take part in school trips. Conflicts will continue to arise wherever Germans are confronted by Islamic cultural norms.

The norms of our "enlightened" society, such as compulsory school attendance for all children, equal rights and opportunities for men and women, or the strict division between the state and the church are often incompatible with the values upheld by other peoples.

A great deal of time and patience is needed to overcome these problems. As the president of the Protestant welfare organisation, Heinz Neukamm, pointed out, overhasty steps would overtax both sides.

Living in a multicultural society is like living in a family with a lot of children. You can't choose the brothers and sisters you want, but you have to live under one roof. Things will only work out if each individual makes a contribution, even though many people first realise this fact later on in life.

Martin Klingst

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 10 February 1989)

Vote-for-foreigners move is fraught with electoral risks

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Hamburg is on the verge of allowing foreigners to vote and stand for office in local elections: the SPD/FDP coalition in the city assembly intends changing the law.

It is a politically courageous move for several reasons. There have been doubts expressed over whether such a decision would be constitutional. The CDU has threatened to take the issue to the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe.

For another, the FDP could damage its electoral prospects (Ingo von Münch, the constitutional law professor who heads the FDP in the Hamburg assembly, has been one of the strongest supporters of the move. He has been the victim of a series of threatening telephone calls.- Ed)

The FDP was thrown out of the Berlin assembly this month when it failed to poll the necessary five per cent of the vote cast; and its fear must be that something similar could happen in the Hamburg election.

In Berlin, the FDP was replaced as the fourth party by the extreme right-wing Republicans with their anti-foreigner platform.

Such fears are not entirely unfounded now that a party has appeared on the political scene which attracts the votes of those Germans who feel that foreigners are to blame for social problems such as the housing shortage or unemployment.

Although anti-foreigner slogans have been unable to cut any ice with Hamburg voters in previous elections (the Republicans failed to get the minimum number of signatures needed to stand at the last election) the situation may change if the impact of the Berlin bombshell spreads.

Adamant

Hamburg is faced by problems similar to those in Berlin. And Hamburg's FDP is sticking even more adamantly to its franchise-for-foreigners plans.

After all, its was the FDP which pushed through the idea during the coalition talks with the SPD in May 1987.

The SPD wanted to postpone the project because of constitutional doubts, even though it has been a proclaimed party goal for many years.

In terms of humane reasons a great deal supports letting foreigners who have been living here for many years participate in local government elections.

There is already a European trend in this direction: Holland, Sweden, Ireland and Britain already grant foreigners the right to vote in local government elections.

At the end of 1987 the European Community Parliament called upon the European Commission to create the conditions for local government franchise for European Community nationals living citizens living in member states.

In summer 1988 the Commission submitted a corresponding draft Directive for foreigners from European Community member states.

The Bundestag Interior Committee will be considering this draft in February. The German Social Democrats criticise the Commission's draft because it does not envisage franchise for non-Community foreigners (as opposed to Hamburg, where all foreigners will be entitled to vote if they have lived in Germany for over eight years).

The SPD feels that the time is ripe to remove the feeling of helplessness foreigners have towards German decision-making bodies.

Euro-MP Heinz Oskar Vetter writes: "Everyone is equally affected if the intensity of traffic in a certain street, the regularity of refuse collection, the water supply or the connecting or compulsory connection to a gas supply have to be regulated."

The Baden-Württemberg Protestant welfare organisation is even more explicit:

"Let us assume a situation in which eight per cent of the population in Berlin-Kreuzberg is Turkish.

"Is it democratic for twenty per cent of the population to decide who is going to be mayor of this district while eight per cent have no choice but to accept their decision?"

Democracy, of course, is embedded in legal forms which cannot simply be discarded.

The Turks referred to in the previous example are not German subjects.

The West German constitution, however, makes this a prerequisite for participation in elections — at all levels.

Professor von Münch, who has strongly advocated the vote for foreigners in Hamburg, put the situation in a legal nutshell:

"In terms of constitutional law the restriction of franchise to Germans as specified in Article 116 of the constitution is also admissible and expedient. German state authority can only be exercised by Germans."

This is more or less the unanimous opinion of constitutional law experts in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Only law professor Manfred Zuleeg (Frankfurt), who is to be appointed to the European Court of Justice at the instigation of, of all people, Helmut Kohl, feels that the legal concept of "the people" should be dropped.

He's likely to have problems with this opinion in Luxembourg, since the Treaty of Rome states that the European Parliament is to be made up of "representatives of the peoples of the states which have joined together in the Community."

Article 21 of the United Nations Human Rights Declaration and Article 25 of the United Nations Pact on Civil and Political Rights presuppose citizenship for the political right to vote.

Most foreigners living in Germany, however, are not keen on taking on German citizenship because they want to keep open the possibility of returning to their native countries some day.

In Hamburg, however, the politicians apparently feel that they can operate below the constitutional level by using the term "population" in the envisaged franchise law instead of "people."

This could turn out to be a fatal error.

Werner Birkenmaier

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 Februrary 1989)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Japan and Western Europe no longer automatically follow the leader

America's role in the world in changing because the world is changing. This inevitably affects transatlantic relations and the relationship between the United States and Japan.

The climate has become rougher and the difference more sharply defined. conflicts.

The partnership which has evolved during the post-war period no longer functions smoothly.

As the East-West conflict is apparently losing its formative influence on international politics and further steps towards disarmament are within reach the clamp of common security is no longer as tight as it used to be.

America's nuclear shield is gradually being dismantled. This explains why Washington's claim to leadership in the western triad is no longer automatically accepted.

The new self-confidence of the Europeans and the Japanese, based on economic growth and impressive productivity, finds its expression in dissent.

Political and economic "pinpricking" as well as threatening gestures and display behaviour are annoying the Americans.

Sometimes, it looks as if there are no more fields in which wholehearted agreements could be reached, whether in economic, monetary, trade, development or security policies.

The interests — or what each sides regards as its interests — differ too widely. America can no longer demand support, for example, of its trade policy, by wagging its diplomatic finger at the security policy dependencies of the western alliance partners, especially those on the borderline of the East-West conflict.

The latter have been pursuing a detente policy orientated towards a balance with the East bloc for some time now. The importance they attach to the military instrument is diminishing.

The sense of military interdependence is gradually declining. This explains the conflict-laden nature of competition in the economic field.

During the Reagan era America repeatedly criticised Europe's refusal to cooperate and tried to punish its stance by turning to unilateralism.

As America cannot use its strength in the agricultural sector, for example, to put pressure on the European and Japanese markets, the populist leaning towards retaliation flourishes.

Partners become rivals who openly threaten each other with the big stick of protectionism and stand by and look as the system of free world trade becomes frayed.

In America and Asia there are fears that Europe's continuing economic integration will erect new barriers by the end of 1992 (catchphrase: Fortress Europe).

Japan is the dominant economic power in the Pacific Basin area and in South-East Asia.

Washington seeks its salvation in regional trade agreements. There is a growing risk of a parcelling out of world trade and a politicisation of international trade policy.

The European Community has grown out of its role of junior partner to the Americans.

It status improvement goes hand in hand with a diminution of the significance of the United States, not in all but in many fields.

An exaggerated flexing of muscles, however, is superfluous and only covers up the often narrow-minded motives behind dismissing Washington's views.

The American demands for a fairer distribution of the defence burdens of the western alliance fall on deaf ears.

The criticism of the US budget and trade deficits, while failing to mention the ensuing benefits for European and Japanese export industries, is a clear case of operating double standards.

A more careful fostering of relations in the western triad is urgently needed. Otherwise, the mutual dependence will constantly run the risk of being strained to breaking point.

Trade, monetary and security policies require management by the seven leading industrial nations, within the framework of the Gatt or in the western alliance, orientated to the common objecive of an economically stable and militarily safe world.

This is the major task facing the Bush Administration; it needs partners to stand a real chance of success. This is not going to be easy. America must acknowledge the limits to its own scope of action.

When George Washington became President of the United States 200 years ago he gazed upon a "sea of difficulties."

He was not mistaken to believe that his fellow Republicans at that time, who now represent the interests of their constituencies and states in Congress, would not tolerate any form of autocratic rule.

Washington invested great effort in the inward consolidation of the young nation; zeal and the self-confidence strengthened during the Revolution still had their effect.

The nation turned full of hope, but also with cautious restraint, to the West and, bowing to reason, vigilantly to the East.

Washington let the experiment America mature in the normalcy of a democratic polity of states.

A country separated from the world's hostilities by the oceans turned into an expansive superpower with worldwide interests. The ways and means of their assertion, however, are disappearing fast.

Under Bush America will have to redefine its role in the world. Europe and Japan also share responsibility for its prosperity.

Drifting apart would be detrimental to all concerned.

Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 February 1989)

N. Ireland and the Duisburg connection

In October last year, four prominent politicians from Northern Ireland belonging to both the Catholic and Protestant denominations met for talks in a hotel near Duisburg, in the Ruhr.

They agreed to an invitation by a German lawyer to try and find a way out of the current political deadlock in Northern Ireland.

For three years now the Protestants have refused to enter into negotiations on a new self-government model for the country as long as the political cooperation between Britain and the Repubic of Ireland within the framework of the Anglo-Irish agreement continues.

The governments of these two countries for refuse to annul the agreement simply to give the Protestants greater negotiating scope.

The four delegates at the Duisburg talks, whose parties represent just under 90 per cent of all voters in Northern Ireland, came up with the idea of put the Hillsborough agreement "on ice".

In other words, to break off diplomatic contact on this issue between Dublin and London for a clearly specified period — at least officially.

During this period negotiations could then take place between the Northern Irish themselves about a new self-government model.

According to the BBC report, part agreement has already been reached on which form the semi-autonomous coalition government could take.

There was also reference to plebiscites in both parts of Ireland, which could give the plan the necessary legitimatory backing.

The party representatives took this plan — and this is the most astonishing aspect — back to Northern Ireland and established a number of contacts and talks.

The governments in London and Dublin have been constantly informed about the outcome of these talks and have expressed their support for the project — in accordance with the passage in the Anglo-Irish agreement which postulates self-government as an immediate goal.

The elegant "icing formula", however, has apparently been unable to stand up

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

to the heat of realities in Northern Ireland.

The moderate Catholics led by SDLP party leader John Hume insisted on the retention of the agreement and thus pushed the Protestants back into their defiant stance.

Hume was particularly indignant after it became publicly known that secret talks had been held.

He now finds himself in the position of the party which says no, a role previously reserved for the Protestants.

Hume has repeatedly expressed his view that Northern Ireland's future lies in an all-Irish context, in particular in an agreement between the Protestants in Northern Ireland and the Dublin government. The two Protestant party leaders Paisley and Molyneaux for their part

Continued on page 6

■ AGRICULTURE

Not all pain for European farmers as fight goes on to cut subsidies

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

1988 was the year of far-reaching decisions for the European farming industry. In February, the 12 European Community countries adopted an extensive reform package to limit the production of surpluses and to cut the spiralling cost of getting rid of them.

Despite US pressure, Brussels stood its ground over the controversial issue of the year, the ban on imports of hormone-treated meat. It is a dispute which could turn into a proper trade war between America and Europe this year.

The serious drought in North America gave the Europeans a breather in their efforts to overcome the permanent agricultural crisis.

The causes of the problems, however, have yet to be remedied. Farmers will have to stomach further unpalatable adjustments.

The fallowing measures adopted last year represent a complete novelty in the Common Agricultural Policy.

Farmers, and not just taxpayers, have to get used to idea of rewarding someone for not producing something.

Up until December only half of the Community member states had adopted the corresponding implementing regulations.

Germany was the only country in which farmers started implementing the scheme in earnest.

One of the main tasks facing the Community's agricultural policy this year will be to ensure that the fallowing measures are enforced in all member states.

Otherwise, the vision of the Federal Republic of Germany as Europe's park with farmers in other countries carrying on their production as usual could become reality.

Following all the painful state-decreed production cuts since 1984 dairy farmers had reason to be happy last year. Contrary to the general trend there was an increase in milk prices.

Bonn Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle, who had become a tragic figure on account of his urgently needed activities to limit farm surpluses and the resultant hostilities, was visibly relieved.

Nonetheless, dairy farmers still produce more than the market can absorb. Between 1 November, 1987, and 15 October, 1988, the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) had to pay out over DM12bn to support the dairy market.

The oilseed and cereals markets also turned into problem-ridden Community markets. During the period they soaked up almost DM9bn and over DM8bn respectively.

It is hoped that the stabilisers agreed on in February last year, which trigger an automatic reduction of the support prices once certain production limits have been exceeded, will provide some relief.

The European beef market regime, a field in which reform turned into a forceps delivery, also accounted for a good DM5bn between 1 November, 1987, and 15 October, 1988.

It remains to be seen whether Spain will be able to do a better job of speeding up the necessary agricultural reforms during its six-month stint as president of the Council of Ministers than Greece did during the last six months of 1988.

The same applies to the takeover of the post as agricultural commissioner by Ireland's Ray MacSharry.

Observers in Brussels have their doubts whether MacSharry will be able to tackle the problems facing the still remaining surplus markets as resolutely and with the help of such far-reaching measures as his Dutch predecessor Frans Andriessen.

The creation of a single "internal" market in the European Community by the end of 1992 was and is a much discussed subject.

The German farm industry, with its comparatively unfavourable operating structures and the burden of the strong mark, will be confronted by stiffer competition.

On the other hand, the creation of the internal market also means that farmers will be subject to the same rules and regulations in all member states.

This means more equal opportunities for the German farmers, who currently have to satisfy comparatively strict and thus cost-increasing construction, environmental and animal protection stipulations.

Despite its almost impenetrable protectionist shield the Community's farm sector cannot be viewed in complete isolation from international developments.

The agricultural sector throughout the world was and still is influenced by the serious drought in North America last summer's serious drought in North America.

This natural disaster in the corn granaries of the United States and Canada led to harvest losses of about 30 per cent.

The result was a worldwide increase in cereals, soya and sugar prices, although this wasn't really felt in the European Community because of the protectionist barriers.

The European Community resolution stipulating that meat containing hormones should no longer sold to Community consumers has produced a serious conflict with the USA.

Following a transitional period this has also applied to American supplies since 1 January, 1989. Washington views this as nothing but an unfair barrier to trade.

It quotes experts who say that the consumption of hormone-treated meat does not involve health risks.

Even the special clause specifying that imports of meat for petfood — 40 per cent of US meat supplies — are excluded from the hormone ban was unable to pacify the Americans.

Irrespective of expert's reports for or against the health risk of hormone-treated meat, Brussels can no longer backtrack on this issue, since Community consumers have already been too sensitised by the controversy.

There is growing pressure for more consumer and environmental protection in the agriculture and food industry, pressure which politicians in the Federal Republic of Germany as well as in other Community states cannot simply ignore.

The fundamental problem of Western Europe's farm industry is the discrepancy between steadily rising productivity and the stagnation of demand for food.

In order to prevent the resultant surpluses either the agricultural production capacities have to be reduced or new sales outlets discovered.

If the first alternative is chosen, however, an area equivalent to the entire agricultural area of the Federal Republic of Germany would have to made fallow by the end of the century just to eliminate the cereals surpluses.

Due to the lack of demand potential demands for greater entrepreneurial initiative and for greater efforts to discover market niches can only lead to a guaranteeing of sufficient income for a limited number of farmers.

This also applies to the conversion from conventional to alternative farming.

Production using alternative farming techniques is in some cases substantially more expensive than conventional methods.

The consumer potential would remain limited in view of the higher prices triggered by this conversion.

The creation of alternative sources of income outside of farming and in rural areas would be a more promising way of safeguarding the livelihood of the farms.

This would counteract the adverse sociopolitical effects of depopulation in certain regions.

Apart from providing industrial jobs and promoting recreational areas and tourism such a concept should also emphasise the aspect of landscape cultivation by farmers.

Even if there is an unexpected upturn of agroeconomic parameters it would dishonest to hide the fact that many farms will be forced to close down during the next few years.

Banking experts estimate that one in three or even one in two of the 667,000 farms in the Federal Republic of Germany is already no longer a viable undertaking in financial terms today.

Christian Ramthun

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 27 January 1989)

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deny that Duisburg was a start to negotiations.

In view of the fact they have been promising their voters for over three years now that negotiations would only begin "over their dead bodies" as long the hated agreement is still valid they had no choice.

Whatever happens over the next few weeks and months Duisburg will go down in the history of the Northern Ireland conflict.

For the first time since Northern Ireland came into being the Northern Irish themselves have taken the initiative to solve their complicated identity problems.

Up to now, all plans and "solutions" have come from outside.

Martin Alioth

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 February 1989)

■ THE WORKFORCE

The equilibrium between life and work: not like it used to be

Saarbrücker Zeitung

Earlier generations associated work with effort, the fulfilment of duties, loyalty and dedication. West Germans today apparently take these values less seriously.

They have been replaced by others such as creativity, autonomy and self-development.

Even though the spectrum of attitudes to work ranges from a "career — no thanks" mentality to the workaholic, the typical work ethic of the average citizen moves somewhere between enthusiasm and frustration.

For social scientists this crisis of the work ethic is part of a general shift in values, a shift which has been particularly discernible in western industrial societies during the past few decades.

They point towards the connection between shifting values and the economic situation.

Whereas the Puritan or materialist ethic was prevalent in phases in of economic need, in which the primary concern was how to earn a living, the values in an age of less serious want and a saturated economy concentrate on the type of work, the quality of the workplace, leisure time activities and the general sphere of organising everyday life.

This "weariness of affluence" then leads to needs outside of the traditional frame of work value concepts.

Decision-making powers and the atmosphere at work become more important than careerism and remuneration.

Economic factors alone cannot explain this decline in the traditional work ethic.

In a study entitled "Work Ethic between a Crisis of Meaning and Non-Acceptance of Achievement" Reinhardt Haupt, a lecturer of General Business and Personnel Management at the University of Cologne develops a new explanatory approach.

The study is primarily based on comparative international studies. It reveals that the changing work ethic cannot be attributed to the advances made by computer systems into the working environment, even though this is suggested by many other surveys.

In the Federal Republic of Germany at any rate the "devaluation of work and achievement by the media" and "emancipatory teaching methods" must be held responsible for the scepticism towards puritanical attitudes, says Professor Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann from the Allensbach Opinion Research Institute.

What is more, sports, recreational, educational and cultural facilities make leisure time more and more appealing.

The Cologne study showed that as many as 46 per cent of all workers would even then want to work less if they were to receive less pay.

A comparison with the work ethic in other industrial societies reveals a less pronounced work motivation in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Whereas 68 per cent of all workers in the USA stated that they do more in their jobs than officially asked of them only 43 per cent in Germany feel that their job is so important that they would invest any greater effort.

In his study Haupt remarks: "The strikingly unfavourable assessment of the work ethic in the Federal Republic of Germany, especially in comparison with the USA, is probably... due to a greater extent of protection against wrongful dismissal and a welfare benefits system, both of which permit a greater dissociation from work without any special job loss risk."

Haupt interprets his statistical findings as a shift in values, a kind of "value synthesis", rather than as a "decline" or "loss" of the work ethic.

The study indicates that the achievement motivation is still going strong, but that achievement is now oriented to the aspect of experience rather than just money.

If a job is able to make self-realisation experienceable the employee responds by showing greater involvement; if not, the result is a diminished achievement motivation.

In the analysis of the link between the working and non-working environments the influence of (dis)contentment at work on (dis)contentment in life in general is emphasised.

Professor Noelle-Neumann, for example, stresses the plausibility of a connection between intensive work and the feeling of a meaning in life, self-respect and happiness. Haupt, however, points out that discontmentment at life in general can also result in discontentment at work.

Whereas traditional value orientations were better able to cushion crises revolving around the meaning of life a job situation which gives people little scope for self-development is likely to lead to a further demotivation of those who are already discontent, says Haupt.

A more lax work ethic may thus reflect a crisis caused by discontentment with life in general, which becomes openly visible as demands increase despite the fact that the crisis is apparently (partly) controlled by workplaces oriented to self-development.

In the final analysis, neither a successful career nor self-fulfilment in one's job are able to give life a sense of meaning, as shown by the "mid-life crisis."

Even though a sense-of-meaning crisis can occasionally be repressed by the achievement orientation the orientation to self-development would appear to be better able to make meaning deficits transparent rather than overcome them.

According to Haupt, neither fleeing from work demands nor getting completely wrapped up in work demands are suitable strategies for maintaining an equilibrium between life in general and work.

Renate Mreschar

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 3 February 1989)

A McRebellion: hats off at McDonald's

The staff at a McDonald's restaurant in Frankfurt have had enough of wearing paper hats while they work.

They say that, the caps discolour, they cause allergies, they ruin women's expensive hairstyles and they cause sweating.

Works council representative Khalid Khan says McDonald's workers "are not going to let themselves be turned into clowns."

But they have agreed to go on wearing the caps in the kitchen for reasons of hygiene.

The secretary of the food and catering trade union in Frankfurt, Burkhard Bösche, says: "We've had dismissals on these grounds in other firms," he said.

The question whether workers have to let their bodies be used as a walking advertisement, squeeze into uncomfortable fantasy uniforms or wear caps with company logos has been often discussed in bakeries and by hotel porters and nurses.

The McDonald's management headquarters in Munich is not at pleased about the Frankfurt action. It emphasises existing pay agreements and hygiene regulations.

The Frankfurt industrial tribunal argued that "a standard uniform had has developed in the branch of the restaurant chains, which includes wearing a cap."

Nevertheless, it feels that the legal situation is not clear.

The tribunal decided to set up a conciliation board to decide whether the works council is entitled to a say in the cap question in future.

The Hamburger restaurant has announced that it will appeal against this decision and only reluctantly tolerates the "hatless" campaign in Frankfurt.

As opposed to the police and the fire brigade, who have to be recognisable for the public at large and are obliged to wear uniform by civil service laws, it is not easy to see why people in other jobs should be obliged to wear uniforms.

Why, for example, must underground train drivers wear a grey-black uniform in the driver's cabin even though the passengers never see them?

The deputy spokesman for Frankfurt's department of works, Dieter Rester, proudly announced that the transport and energy company has a new motto: "Away with the uniform look, towards a more up-to-date style." Last year, it introduced new trousers, caps and pullovers for its employees.

As Rester pointed out "the old uniform was no longer up-to-date after 20 years." Some people say the new attire is not exactly fashionable either.

The only thing that now shows that bus drivers work for the city's department of works is a badge (for woman a brooch).

Rester feels that the new look is just right. "A lot of people think that it's not a uniform at all." In that case, of course, why bother at all?

Nurses already doffed their caps for good in most clinics years ago.

Matron Ellen Gassenmeyer, the head of the nursing staff at the Frankfurt University Clinic, recalls how the nurses used to have to wear a special dark-blue uniform on Sundays.

The regulations still vary from one clinic to the next. Nobody denies that the white coats make sense just as noone would expect the chimney-sweep to climb down the chimney wearing a pair of jeans.

Trade unions do not deny that a standard uniform can also become part of a company's image and promote "corporate identity", the special "we-feeling" among employees designed to encourage greater effort by the company's workers and attract clients.

Union spokesman Bösche, however, feels that the uniform must take human dignity into account.

"The circus uniforms worn by the car attendants in the big hotels, gold-braided with top-hats, that's very near the limit." Styling and material should be comfortable.

Bösche can still remember the conflict a short while ago with a bakery chain, which wanted to force its salesgirls to wear caps.

There was also a "major conflict)" in a big hotel about a saucer-sized badge with the words "Your friends in the right place," which the hotel staff felt was in the wrong place.

Now the staff themselves can decide whether they want to wear the badge or not. In Hessen even chefs do not have to wear the traditional high hats; not so in other *Länder.*

During the 1970s the Frankfurt industrial tribunal decided that the works council also has a say in the colour of the costumes of the Lufthansa stewardesses.

Daniel Riegger

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 February 1989)

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swiftly disregard Momper's statement can only cause amazement. They take the view: why should I be concerned with the remarks I made yesterday?

But even if the SPD did jump into bed with the Alternative List, it would be a fragile union. Would the Alternative List leadership, always inclined towards political chaos, always produce a majority?

An SPD mayor with the Alternative List might not get all his senators confirmed by the House of Representatives.

An alliance between the SPD and the Greens would revive CDU-CSU propaganda again at future elections: The choice is now to vote either for a serious conservative-liberal alliance on the one hand, or the chaos of an SPD-Greens coalition on the other.

The Bonn coalition could not wish for a better distraction from its own problems. If it soon comes to an alliance between the SPD and the Greens in the Frankfurt City Council, then an SPD-Greens alliance could be defend by saying that in other communities an alliance of this sort functioned quite well.

A coalition between the SPD and the Greens in a federal state such as Berlin, a city so sensitive in foreign affairs, has a different quality attached to it.

What about an SPD minority senate? The CDU has been able to reconsider its position after its initial shock and readiness to form a grand coalition. The party has recognised that a toleration of the SPD is the best possibility to serve its own interests.

But chaos is ready and waiting. If the SPD goes along with this then the party can only do so with the intention of calling another election as soon as possible.

Hans Peter Schütz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 February 1989)

■ AEROSPACE

The stars are further away than they seem

The moment of truth has come for Europe's ambitious space programme. Manned space travel is threatened with a premature belly-landing in view of the lack of cash and serious technical handicaps.

The cause of the disaster is the Hermes mini-shuttle, which should fly to, maintain and supply the European orbital station Columbus from 1997.

The idea is that with Hermes the 13 members of the European Space Agency would no longer be dependent on the American Space Shuttle. But not only the Americans have expressed doubts about this.

The programme director for long-term planning at Nasa, Jesco von Puttkammer, referred to talk of autonomy in ESA as being in the land of illusion.

He said: "The development to European space autonomy will take longer and is much more expensive than the Europeans see it today."

Only with reluctance, and pressure from Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, did Heinz Riesenhuber, Research and Technology Minister, give in at the ESA ministrial conference in The Hague in November 1987 to French demands for the joint construction of the Hermes mini-shuttle, and agree to Bonn contributing a billion deutschemarks for development costs.

Nevertheless the Germans held back from full participation in the Hermes programme and the European space module Columbus.

Contractually all that was sanctioned was the construction of the potentially profitable, heavy-lift launcher rocket Ariane 5.

All three projects, under French management in the main, would cost at least DM30 billion according to ESA's own rough estimates. It is planned to spend DM9 billion on Hermes alone.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg then got into the Hermes affair. He said that a final decision could only be made when more independent consultancy firms, commissioned by Bonn, including the Wiesbaden-based American company Arthur D. Little, had completed their studies.

Stoltenberg had good reasons for his No, for an additional escape module in the mini-shuttle, demanded after the Challenger disaster, cut maximum load capacity from the original five to below one per cent of the total weight.

Despite assurances of French Hermes engineers that the payload loss had been recovered through construction changes, experts at the German Aviation and Research Agency at Wahn, Cologne, are sceptical. One expert from Wahn said that anything was possible on paper.

Progressive minds in the Research and Technology Ministry, and particularly experts at Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB), were not inconvenienced by the Hermes project getting itself into a cul-de-sac. They saw it as a poor imitation of the Space Shuttle, designed at the end of the 1960s.

The alternative for them was the system thought up by Eugen Sänger during the last war — much to the displeasure of the French.

It would be two-phase and consist of two re-usable vehicles strapped together, which take off horizontally. The piggy-back-mounted spacecraft would separate from the parent vehicle 30 kilometres above the earth and be put on a hypersonic course by rockets. The maximum payload would be about 15 tons.

Behind closed doors there is at present a battle raging about this space system conceived by Sänger almost 50 years ago. While sceptics believe that the Sänger Concept is only capable of realisation by passing through many stages — among them Hermes — technology rebels claim that the concept can be put into operation within 17 years.

Minister Riesenhuber also sees the future of European space travel in Sänger. Without publicity he has allocated DM45 million for Sänger models to be tested in the wind tunnel at the German Space Agency in Göttingen.

He has also called for estimates to be made into questions, applicable to Hermes, concerning material fatigue, re-entry strain on the return to earth and melting temperatures.

The results will be sensitively handled. Minister Riesenhuber will make the details known "at an appropriate time."

Opponents of Hermes see in Sänger an alternative to the French spacecraft, "which was laid in the Germans' nest in haste by the French." For these opponents the construction of a much less expensive space capsule would be the way to meeting European autonomy demands.

Ariane 5, already well advanced, and Nasa's Shuttle fleet, would haul the components for the Columbus space

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With Cassini and Huygens to Saturn and Titan

Saarbrücker Zeitung

The 13-member European Space Agency (ESA) has decided that its next scientific programme will involve a further reconnaissance of the planet Saturn and its 6th and largest satellite, Titan.

ESA will cooperate with the American space agency Nasa in the Cassini Mission, with the Americans contributing the launcher rocket for a Saturn sonde and the Europeans equipment for a landing on Titan.

According to the experts Saturn's satellite would be like the Earth a billion years ago at the origins of life.

The project should get under way in 1996 and the Americans' instrument carrier, Mariner Mark 2, should be in the vicinity of Saturn six years later, where the ESA sonde Huygens will be released for its slow descent through Titan's atmosphere.

It is estimated that the project will cost the Europeans $190 million: the Americans will spend $750 million on the project, one of the most fascinating to emerge over the past decade.

There are good reasons why the voyage to Saturn-Titan has been named after the Italian astonomer Giovanni Domenico Cassini (1625-1712) and the Dutch physicist Christian Huygens (1629-1695).

Cassini, firstly professor of astronomy in Bologna and later director of the Paris Observatory, discovered Saturn's satellites and the double nature of the rings round Saturn, named after him.

Titan has a diameter of 5,140 kilometres, almost the largest of the planets (the Earth is 12,700 kilometres in diameter and Mars 6,800), and is a unique celestial body in the solar system.

Apart from the Earth Titan is the only planet in the solar system whose atmosphere contains molecular nitrogen.

The successful American sonde Voyage I collected first hand information when it flew past Titan almost 5,000 kilometres up in November 1980.

Titan's chemistry throws some light on the early days of life on Earth. Temperatures of below 179 degrees centigrade possibly caused the formation of methane ice clouds in the lower atmosphere of the satellite as well as seas or even oceans on the upper surface with the organic link of methane and ethane,

Titan's orbit is 1.2 million kilometres distant from Saturn, and almost circular.

The Cassini Mission is scheduled to start on 9 April 1996. The Saturn sonde weighs 1,000 kilograms, the Titan landing capsule 200 kilograms — together twice as heavy as the two American "Voyager" sondes which set out in 1977, the pacemakers so far for interplanetary research.

On the voyage to Saturn two interesting side-trips are planned, in March 1997 to the astroid 66 Maja and in February 2000 to Jupiter, the largest planet in the solar system.

The combined Cassini Mission should meet at Saturn's rings on 18 October 2002, and scientifically research all sectors of the Saturn system with the help of the sonde over a four-year period.

But firstly, two weeks before arrival the European section will separate from the Huygens capsule and be guided into Titan's atmosphere, braking its entry speed from 25,000 kilometres an hour to about 1,000.

About 180 kilometres up a braking parachute will unfold, on which the landing equipment will hover over Titan's upper surface taking two to three hours for the descent, radar controlled.

It will radio its data from the atmosphere to the parent craft acting as a relay station.

Although the chances of the capsule surviving the landing impact are deemed poor, scientists hope it will still be able to beam a quick analysis of a surface test.

They are very much hoping that they will be able to discern whether the surface of Titan is land or sea from a series of between 20 and 100 photographs.

After acting as a a relay station at 1,000 kilometres distant from Titan the parent craft will continue its four-year voyage through the system of Saturn's rings.

The planet itself has an equatorial diameter of 122,000 kilometres, the second largest in the solar system.

Mainly composed of hydrogen and helium, the planet revolves round the sun every 29.5 years at a mean distance of 1.4 billion kilometres (887,000,000 miles).

dpa

(Saarbrücken Zeitung, 28 January 1989)

■ MUNICH'S SECOND AIRPORT

That's funny, the blueprint looked a bit different

For 20 years, Munich's new airport has been planned, built and argued about. Now it is nearly complete — despite local protests. The real extent of aircraft noise has been kept hidden for years.

Passengers flying to Munich know the story: shortly before the airport, the pilot announces that there is to be a delay until the bottleneck clears and, as he begins to go into holding pattern, makes a reference to a building site down below with the observation that, when it is completed, flying will be a lot easier.

Down below is the grey-brown expanse of Erdinger Moos, a wooded area between villages and city. A dislocated H: two four-kilometre-long sides connected by the short piece, which is formed by the bits and pieces of the building site.

This is Munich's second airport, about 30 kilometres (about 18 miles) north east of the city. In between two and two and a half years, it is expected that 12 million passengers a year will stream in and out of its gates.

The question is: will the seven billion marks that the project is costing solve the problems of flying to and from Munich?

The skies over Germany are among the most congested in the world. Because the skies over Bavaria itself have air corridors for flights for the Balkans and the Far and Near East, and because of the commercial necessity of keeping short-haul aircraft in the air and as little as possible on the tarmac, the problem of congestion would seem to be in the skies rather than on the ground.

In any case, Flughafengesellschaft, the company responsible for running the airport, has admitted that the milestone of 10 million passengers a year which was expected in 1988 was not reached not because the airport is too small but because of congested skies.

Opponents of the new airport have been pointing out such inconsistencies for a long time but, as always, they have run up against the limits of the possible. They did have some success in the courts. The original plan for the "Moos Monster" was for an airport big enough to handle 40 million passengers a year on four runways on an area of 2,400 hectares. This had to be cut in half.

But in spite of a catalogue of 27,000 objections lodged at a commission of inquiry and another 5,700 lawsuits, the project is going ahead. A major reason for the defeat was that in the affected areas of Freising and Erding, not enough popular resistance was aroused. Too many people felt that aircraft noise would not affect them.

Today, almost 20 years after the Bavarian Cabinet took the decision to go ahead, 10 years after the declaratory judgement, four years after the last court ruling, everything looks much different.

The flight paths have been announced. Suddenly, communities which had for years accepted assurances by the Bavarian government and the Flughafengesellschaft that they would be spared aircraft noise are worried that they are, after all, going to be saddled with noise from both short-haul and inter-continental jets.

Kranzberg, which has a population of 3,000, is about 15 kilometres from the new airport. At the inquiry hearing in the 1970s, it was said that aircraft would pass eight or 10 kilometres away. So there were no objections from that direction.

But as soon as the paths were announced, half the population joined a citizens' initiative. The reason? They can expect that between 200 and 250 jets a day will pass over their roofs at 1,500 metres (5,000 feet) or lower.

It could be said that flight paths are the business of neither the Bavarian government nor Flughafengesellschaft. They are fixed by a federal authority handling air safety, the *Bundesanstalt für Flugsicherung*. But it is not as simple as that.

The airport was given legal approval in 1974. At that time, it was envisaged that aircraft would fly out from the airport on a long straight path before turning in the required direction. That has been changed. Aircraft will have to make their turn shortly after taking off, as soon as they have reached a minimum altitude. As a result, villages and towns not originally thought to be affected suddenly are.

Yet in 1973, the Bonn aviation ministry arranged for a special study to be made in Britain. The findings envisaged flight paths as they are now planned. That means that in both Bonn and Munich, it was known that flight paths would not be the same as those included in the original, legally approved specifications. That should have meant another hearing to determine if the airport being built was the same one as had been approved.

But, the administrative court said, in rejecting the opponents' case, that new evidence must under certain circumstances not be allowed to carry full weight on the grounds that planning could not always go back to square one.

So not only are more people going to be affected by aircraft noise than at first thought, but the level of noise itself is going to be greater.

Now the Bonn Defence Ministry is considering stationing a wing of Tornado fighter-bomber at the military airport next door at Erding itself.

That was too much even for Bavaria's Premier, Max Streibl, who has taken up the case with Defence Minister Rupert Scholz. A conciliatory response by Scholz has been described as a red herring by Robert Leidinger, a Social Democrat member of parliament in the Bonn Bundestag.

He said he deduced from a written reply to a question he had tabled that flight paths for aircraft using Erding are being worked on in Bonn.

He pointed out that the planned deployment in Erding was connected with the deployment of an operations group — and in this group would be included a squadron of Tornados stationed in Britain which would use Erding as a starting point for exercises. In public discussion, these were factors that had been not considered.

Now, to add to the saga, the Bavarian audit office has sounded the alarm. Construction costs have climbed from the original estimate of 2.6 billion marks to more than 5 billion marks.

Flughafengesellschaft says this is because five years ago, it was anticipated that the new airport would be merely a back-up one for the existing airport and handling a much smaller number of passengers than is now planned.

But now the new airport was to be an international terminal for routes to the south and south-east and was being built to completion under such pressure of time that the audit office believes that 5 billion marks will not be the final cost.

The audit office also levelled criticism at the under-developed transport connections. There are meant to be the means to ferry 12 million people a year to and from the new airport; but no one knows how because neither adequate rail not road links have been built.

The train concourse in the departure lounge, for example, has been designed only for Munich's S-Bahn (metro) and not for inter-city trains. Other than that there is the car, but drivers will have to use the Munich-Nuremberg autobahn, which is already congested. Feeder roads will not be ready in time.

So the area north-east of Munich is threatened from (northern) autumn 1991 with not only a lot of noise but also with permanent traffic chaos.

Perhaps when passengers sitting strapped-in as they circle in holding pattern are looking out of their windows, they might not only glance at the pretty mountains, but also perhaps at the tailbacks below and wonder whether they will have cleared by the time they land.

Matthias Fink

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 27 January 1989)

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station into space. Heavy and unwieldy module units, which cannot be repaired in orbit, must be brought back to earth with assistance from the Americans.

ESA's purpose, on the other hand, would be to collect and bring back to earth, like honey, information gained under weightless conditions with just a few astronauts and cheap capsules. It would be commuter traffic which the Russians operate for supplying their Mir space station.

There is not much hope of success for this project, however, for France and the Federal Republic have stuck to the autonomy argument, since in the past the Americans have more than once been rough to ESA at the negotiating table.

Furthermore the French firmly cling to Hermes for prestige reasons, although the project team in Toulouse are only making headway with difficulty. So far only two plywood models are to hand.

ESA's problems have not been lost on the Russians. Through diplomatic channels they have offered the Europeans their know-how at bargain prices.

The Russians' price per kilogram for space freight is 50 per cent below the Americans' space travel costs. Moscow wants to sell to ESA relevant experience gained with the Mir docking manoeuvres, space staggers and organic changes with long-term tests.

There are attractions in the offer; for Nasa is under pressure from the Pentagon not to pass on its knowledge, even when lucrative offers are made.

Despite its technical superiority the Americans know how to assess correctly the agreement with ESA.

Jesco von Puttkammer said: "International cooperation helped us a lot during the election period." But he self-confidently qualified this by saying that the Europeans would need at least 50 years to be automomous in space.

Hans-Dieter Hamboch

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 27 January 1989)

■ BOOKS

See the film and shatter your illusions

Bitter disappointment was the reaction when pupils from a Bamberg (Bavaria) primary school saw the film version of a book they had all read.

They said the film was different from what they had imagined. The pictures on the screen had shattered their illusions.

The episode was part of a project being run by Bernard Meyer for Bamberg University. For both him and the children, the cinema visit was an example of how reading can excite the imagination and how fantasy can be destroyed by pictures on a screen.

Everyone who has seen the film version of a book has had a similar experience.

It is an opportunity for bibliomaniacs, teachers and psychologists to insist that reading is a vital human activity.

As the well-known American psychologist Bruno Bettelheim said: "Man has a passionate yearning for his powers of fantasy to be excited."

Nuremberg educationalist Wolfgang Einsiedler is convinced that reading "stimulates the powers of the imagination, demands powers of concentration and thought linked together."

Television, on the other hand, reduces these processes, "because an internal image does not have to be produced."

This panagyric about reading sounds more like a death wail when the realities in the Federal Republic are taken into consideration. The virtue of reading is in a bad way here. Adults watch an overwhelming amount of television and children give more and more of their leisure time to the box.

It is true that many booksellers in the provinces cannot complain about their sales, and obviously not all libraries have yet been affected by the trend to read less.

The headquarters of Nuremberg's City Library, for instance, records increasing borrowings by children and young people up to the age of 16.

Gudrun Wiedemann, head of the children's and young people's book department, frankly said: "The experience of the branch libraries is somewhat different, however."

Everywhere, where parents do not supervise their children's reading, it is much more difficult to get at them, she said. When the parents dare to look at what their children are reading, they find the children are much more interested in comics and cassettes than in books.

There has not been a survey of the attitude children and young people adopt towards the media in central Franconia until now. But experts are convinced that a survey on media perspectives carried out in 1988 on a nationwide basis would be applicable to a very considerable extent.

According to this survey 84 per cent of teenagers sit for hours on end in front of the television every day, while only 27 per cent of this age group once pick up a book.

The survey showed that 45 per cent of the 12 to 29 age group almost never read a book.

For comparison the figures involving adults show that 71.4 per cent of citizens look at TV every day, but only 12.6 per cent ever once get their nose into a book.

Teachers look upon the effects of this phenomenon gloomily. Some experts noted that in comparison with 20 years ago children now show considerably fewer powers of concentration and abilities to read.

Other experts go along with what educationalist Ulli Schöttle from Illesheim said: "What's wrong is that the Germans lack fantasy and expression. They do not understand a mathematical problem any more."

The experts describe this as functional illiteracy.

For a long time now academics have not been the only ones concerned about this problem. Central government, the federal states and individual schools have taken it up.

The Bonn government set up the "Reading Foundation," which gives a helping hand in this delicate matter. The Bavarian schools syllabus makes it clear that children should be encouraged to read good books. Elementary and secondary school teachers have familiarised themselves at their own conferences dealing with reading with the subject-matter.

After detailed planning the Bavarian teachers association has established "reading representatives" in local communities, districts and towns to tackle the time-consuming business of setting up contacts with libraries and booksellers, publishers and authors, parents and teachers: contacts with teachers are of particular importance to help in the tough task of promoting reading.

Ulli Schöttle, who goes about central Franconia as a reading representative, conceded: "We have to hold ourselves back sometimes so that we do not become missionary."

Spurred on by a colleague in Lower Franconia, he has built up a touring exhibition of 1,135 children's and young



people's books within the space of six months, aimed at encouraging young people to read.

The books cannot be borrowed. But boys and girls can handle them, leaf through them and browse — and in this way overcome the feeling of shyness when faced with the printed word.

Every effort is made to induce young people to the reading habit rather than exhorting them to it.

According to librarians this is always successful if the tale is well told, amusing and exciting.

Klaus Wenzel, who trains prospective teachers in the Nuremberg area, said: "Pupils whom it was assumed would only ever watch the box, succumb to the fascination of reading." As a result of this more and more school classes now have their own libraries.

In elementary and secondary school classes which are not yet provided with funds for this purpose, the basic library is obtained by writing begging letters to publishers.

Just how far local government is prepared to provide money for library stocks and maintenance only the future will tell, but a working group of the Bavarian librarians association is demanding this.

Hartwig Reimann, chairman of the association and Mayor of Schwabach, south of Nuremberg, is well aware that

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Largest children's library in the whole world

The largest children's library in the world is in Munich. It receives 19,000 volumes a year from all over the world.

Among the visitors are many from foreign countries as well as from all over Germany. They include teachers who want to set up a library; librarians who want to get to know about new trends; authors who are searching for translators; publishers looking for successful ideas; students and graduate students studying for doctorates, who are seeking advice or who need rare books; scholarship-holders who are specialising in children's books; and, of course, lots of children.

The library is housed in Blutenburg Castle, a moated hunting-lodge, dating from the 15th century, which has been painstakingly renovated.

Variously-shaped, massive, complex buildings enclose two inner court-yards. Under the largest with an old linden tree and a young apple tree there is the subterranean centre of the library, warehousing accommodation for 460,000 volumes in more than 100 languages.

Sixty-thousand of the volumes make up the "Historical Collection," publications dating from the 16th century to the 20th.

There are rooms for catalogues, lending and offices where an international crew of 35 work, and a reference library.

There is an inter-library loan service, a media room, a department dealing with autographs, a tape-recording archives, a collection of photographs and a wealth of sketches by famous authors of children's books.

Three rooms are used for congresses, specialist seminars and research conferences. In the fortified tower there are study rooms. The gateway tower is named after Erich Kästner.

There is a castle restaurant and a chapel with famous woodcuttings from the Middle Ages, where one can meditate — for instance about the notorious Lola Montez. She spent the night in these rooms, before revolutionary students hustled her off to America.

Agnes Bernauer, wedded to Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria, about whom Friedrich Hebbel wrote his play given her name, spent a short happy time in the castle.

Yella Lepman, a Jewess born in Stuttgart, had the idea for a library of children's and young people's books. After the Second World War the Americans invited her to leave her London exile and go to devastated Munich as an adviser on educational matters.

She suggested that "in order to straighten out this completely crazy world a start should be made with the children."

Children could understand, tolerate, learn to like all races, cultures, continents through the medium of the book.

She wanted to create a "children's book bridge" stretching all round the world — the title of her autobiography.

The pubishing houses to which she wrote were mainly in countries where until recently Germany had been at war. But books arrived.

In July 1946 an international exhibition of books for young people took place in the Haus der Kunst in Munich. A record number of visitors turned up for this event.

In 1949 the International Youth Library was opened in a small villa in the Kaulbachstrasse in Munich.

Eleanor Roosevelt, a group of prominent people including Erich Kästner and the Rockefeller Foundation contributed to the new institution — the Rockefeller Foundation gave guarantees of $22,000 annually.

Yella Lepman had unbelievable energy. She worked with the "determination of a regiment of sharp-shooters," as Carl Zuckmayer put it.

Any number of cases of books came from Unesco in Geneva, originating from the League of Nations. Many private collectors parted with some of their treasures.

On the ground-floor of the villa in the heart of Munich's Schwabing borough, close to the State Library, children in patched clothes romped about. Rhymes and songs could be heard from one room. Adults talked about foreign-language literature in another, close by young people crouched over their books deep in Alice in Wonderland, Pinocchio, Emil and the detectives or Tom Sawyer.

Yella Lepman resigned from heading the library in 1957, and travelled to countries in the Third World on behalf of Unesco, to do research into children's books in developing countries.

She initiated the International Committee for Books for Youth, the International Youth Book Conference, and the Hans Christian Anderson Medal award to the world's best authors and artists.

She remained loyal to her self-imposed tasks until her death on 5 October 1970 at the age of 80.

Walter Scherf, a well-known expert on fairy-tales and myths, headed the library for 25 years, years of intensive expansion. He stepped up cooperation with countries in the East Bloc.

Books for young people were collected with meticulous care from all over the world, catalogued and made accessible on loan internationally.

The most important catalogues of the library's collection have been published in a series brought out by the Hall Publishing House in Boston.

Scherf also attracted a new category of young visitors to the library — the children of guest workers and immigrants.

He did a lot to make up for their lack of cultural facilities, procuring books from their home countries and urging German writers to write for them and about the special conditions they had to face up to in this country.

More and more visitors from all over the world came to the library, where they were hemmed in between bookcases and piles of books. They met each other and discussed children's books.

The villa in Munich's Kaulbachstrasse became too small. Inevitably the library had to move.

Andreas Bode and Liobа Betten took over the library when it moved to Blutenburg Castle in 1983.

The library's interests in children's books were extended to include activities with children, and a "model library for multi-cultural activities" was set up including 15,000 children's and young people's books in 12 languages.

In the 40 years of its existence the library has contributed a great deal to raising the standards of literature for young people, leaving behind the well-meaning, the old-fashioned and the paralysis of clichés.

Indeed many children today prefer reading to watching television. Knowledge about people and conditions in the world can only be obtained directly via books.

Anneliese Steinhoff

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 February 1989)

■ FILMS

Ten Commandments for good, young directors



Their love didn't last long. He died in a duel. She lived on. Hardly an original film story, perhaps.

Correct — if it had not been for the tension leading up to the young officer's death; if it had not been for the cameraman's talent for composition; if it had not been for the music; and if it had not been for the tension between the characters.

Nothing in the film, *Lieberlei*, is apathetic, nothing is arbitrary, and certainly nothing is sentimental.

Max Ophüls made *Lieberlei*, based on the play, *Playing with Love*, by Arthur Schnitzler, in 1932. A year later he had to emigrate. Ten years ago Ophüls' home city Saarbrücken set up the Max Ophüls Prize Film Festival with Albrecht Stuby managing it — which has in the meantime become the most important German-language film festival for the work of the younger generation of directors.

Thirty-two years after Ophüls' death *Lieberlei* has the effect of a relic from a forgotten era. The 1980s are made of different stuff — and so it should be.

Just imagine that Max Ophüls was himself making the award: he would have a difficult time finding a winner from among this lot of television whizz-kinds.

Beautiful new cinema world perhaps — trends 1989. That sounds like an advertising spot, and often the films shown in Saarbrücken seemed like that.

Looking back over 10 years one sees reflected egocentrics posing, productions of real life and narcissists making faces. Characters hovering freely in space and time — only the interior is exquisite and pre-selected.

The best pieces from the rubbish heap get a showing, consciously placed and draped. These young film-makers obviously have no anxiety about making generalisations, no hesitation about stating platitudes.

We will also not be cowardly and give prizes to the observations on films of the younger generation.

So here goes, with 10 points on the trends in German-language films made by young directors:

1. There are no jobs, nor any efforts and compulsions generally associated with work. They can do what they want with their lives; the 24 hours of the day are generously reduced to the playthings of morose jugglers.

2. There is no such thing as love, only relationships.

3. The traditional sex roles have become watered down, everyone may go with anyone, and even women make films. But no revolt takes place; no revolt took place.

4. There are no tragic actors, only the moaning and groaning of the man abandoned in the East and West.

5. There is no communication, no language, only the natural agreement of the like-minded.

6. There are no connections, no history, no affairs. Instead there are scenes, spots, collages.

7. Action is out, looking at things is in.

8. The second-hand is popular in a motly mixture of the media world, in which the cinema goes to the dogs in a cute collection of quotations.

9. The drink of the season is whisky (it should be shaken).

10. Everything is enough to make you kill yourself with laughing.

Well apart from scoring points is there nothing else? Anyone who does not believe that should go and see.

For example Mickey (an advertising copy writer, what else?) is abandoned by his girlfriend.

Mickey is the new type of male. Many like him could be seen at the festival. Lovable and stupid, charming and almost not the he-man type (except in dreams), subjugated by women, comforted by his stuffed hare, accompanied with comments by his friends — all single — on the difficult road to a new woman.

It was not all so racy and so flat as with Ecki Ziedrich's comedy *Singles*, (which had already been signed up by a distributor before the festival began), but the situation is typical: Nine abandoned men (as opposed to two abandoned women) in 25 films is an imposing resumée, but seldom an occasion for applause. But *Robbykallepaul*, from the Swiss director Dani Levy (who made *Du mich auch*) hits the point and is full of ideas, lively and lovable. It is the turbulent story of three single men sharing a flat.

That it is lovable differeniates it agreeably from films that are just a procession of scenes, which crackle against the cold and are bursting with smugness.

Frühstück zu dritt, by Andreas Riedler from the Tyrol, is another triangular tale, which lacks corners, since it outlines the youth of the 1980s. It is cool and without consideration, lacking in feeling and arrogant — and with half-hearted admiration by the director for his adolescent characters.

Young Ludwig, in Marcel Gisler's *Schlaflose Nächte* complains: "What I lack is a sense of necessity." And that is true.

We learn that Ludwig works in films. His girlfriend Anna also has a job. But all that we see are dozy days, tedious nights, boredom with the world, in which there is nothing more to discover.

Anna gracefully succeeds in taking pictures, click, click, click, without resistance, predictably, without effort, lacking in tension, boring.

It is astonishing how women present themselves in this bloodless weightlessness. No cliché seems to be too insipid for them, that it cannot please.

From *Odyssey* to spy film with a slipped ending . . . Berthold Mittermayr's prize-winning *Eis*. (Photo: Mittermayr)

She is 40. He is 20. She is a successful academic. He is an ordinary working lad and a thief — is that the essence of female fantasy?

Bettina Woernle directs this cheap novel (*Der Einbruch*) superbly, while author Vivian Naefe (*Pizza-Express*) was at least honest enough to call things by their proper names. He writes cheap novels. She reads them.

East Germany was well represented in all this turmoil by Michael Kann and his film *Die Entfernung zwischen dir und mir und ihr*. This was awarded a promotion prize.

The main role involves Robert, the abandoned man. But in this triangular story it is less a matter of a well-ordered relationship as truely experiencing something.

It is mainly a play with levels, which intertwine with one another, with crossing over from the past to the present, reality and possibility.

Andreas is also abandoned in the East German film *In einem Atmen* directed by Dietmar Hochhuth, a pretext for any number of meaningful and entertaining reflections about everyday life in East Germany.

There is a demand for amusement in the East and the West, and sometimes the comic has a touch of cross-frontier rebelliousness, which only adds to its quality.

Rudolf Steiner's film *Fünf Bier und ein Kaffee* was made with amateurs, drawn from Berlin's punk and youth scene. It has a lot of heart and a touch of *Harold and Maude*.

It involves a joke which unerringly leads to the conclusion that the whole of Berlin is a madhouse and that only the lunatics are clear-sighted.

Erwin Michelberger also worked with young outsiders. A Turkish girl who runs away from home, a young male prostitute, a Japanese who sniffs solvents from a plastic bag, and "Ameise," who lives in an abandoned shipbuilding shed and processes scrap metal.

They are the lost princes and princesses of a large city, who build a castle in a deserted corner of the harbour, in which gradually their violance can turn to affection.

Kopffeur (also awarded a promotion prize) is cold instead of being cool, with warm moments and unpredictable insights, which resist the slick pictures in the mind and provoke with filth, speechlessness and tenderness.

Dirk Schäfer brought a surprising film to the festival. Quite against the trend he showed a love-story which naturally ended in death.

Die weissen Zwerge was awarded the Saar Prime Minister's prize. The title means the stars, whose interior increases, but which lose their light powers until they are finally extinguished.

Friedrich, a cook in a canteen, is just one of these stars, and in the end he has to die (of a haemorrhage which happens only to lovers who love in vain).

Ramona, his girlfriend, works as a cashier in a supermarket — one sees them both, how they love each other, how they work and how they live.

Their modest existence unexpectedly made up for all the boring films of the festival. After Friedrich's death Schäfer leaves his audience with just Ramona's functional coldness and just a little despairing.

Festival winner Berthold Mittermayr's *Eis* causes another kind of bewilderment. It is an odyssey which ends up as a spy film.

Eis was one of the few competition films which were totally without introspection. Instead the exciting scenes are full of the power of natural science and industry, and the interconnections of the international arms madness. The director can be forgiven for letting the ending slip a little.

There were 25 films at Saarbrücken, and one went almost forgotten, *Komitas* by Don Askarjan, a film of apocalyptic melancholy, told by the Armenian monk and composer Komitas who, after the genocide in Armenia spent the last 20 years of his life in a psychiatric clinic.

Askarjan links stones and water, icons and Armenian myths to make a visionary dirge. *Komitas* was awarded the international jury's prize. It is a German production made by Askarjan who has lived for the past 10 years in Berlin.

This film was one of the rays of hope in the festival — and certainly a story which is not too foreign to Germans.

Angelika Ohland

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 3 February 1989)

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"It depends on a district council having a feeling for how vital this is."

Hans Zehetmair, Bavarian Education Minister, has already indicated that the idea of school libraries everywhere is just not on.

Reimann said that he regretted that many young people did not have the example of reading before them at home.

He added that only at school could it be guaranteed that children "physically come into contact with books." Reimann, like so many others who are convinced of the significance of books, there is no question that more goes on in the head in reading than in watching television. The president of the Bavarian teachers association Dannhäuser said: "Reading is a key to culture and a conscious participation in public life."

Ursild Kolb

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 28 January 1989)

■ RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

More indifference than confrontation — no different from mathematics and German

Religious instruction in schools was one of the most unpopular subjects 15 years ago, but that has now obviously changed.

Johannes Joachim Degenhardt, Archbishop of Paderborn and chairman of the commission for schools and education set up by the German Bishops Conference, stated at a Bonn press conference that religious instruction "met with less antipathy among pupils than it did at the beginning of the 1970s."

But there were no grounds for complacency, "for the level of the subject's popularity among boys and girls was still disappointing."

He said that there was a greater tendency to be disinterested in, and indifferent to, the subject.

Archbishop Degenhardt based his comments on the findings of surveys conducted by the Allensbach Opinion Poll Institute in 1987 and 1988.

Catholic instructors in religious education in elementary and secondary modern schools and at all levels in gymnasiums, and pupils between 14 and 20 from all parts of the country, were included in the surveys.

Allensbach wanted to find out in specific terms how religion was taught in schools, what motivation and goals were linked to religious teaching and how schoolboys and girls reacted to it.

Much debate

One result was that instead of confrontation there was indifference to the lessons. But not too much stress should be placed on this. There was not only a lack of interest in religion. There were other subjects which did not arouse pupils' interest.

Anyone who wants to point to the Allensbach results as showing that religious instruction is out-dated would also have to state that mathematics and German language studies were superfluous.

For the past 20 years there has been much debate about the meaning and purpose of religious instruction in schools.

The legal position of this subject is more secure in the Federal Republic than in most other countries. It is especially referred to in Article 7 of Basic Law, the only school subject to be mentioned. The law says that it should be taught to all pupils.

More than 10 years ago the Federal Republic's General Bishops Synod defined what cultural-historic, anthropological and social significance the Church attached to it: "There must be religious instruction in schools because schools familiarise pupils with the spiritual tradition which has adorned our civilisation, and because the various confessions of Christianity are characteristic of our spiritual traditions."

The General Synod said in addition that religious instruction in schools was desirable, "because schools helped young people to find themselves, and because religion, as a result of its questioning of the fundamental meaning of living, helped young people to appreciate and be aware of their role and purpose in society and life.

"Because schools themselves cannot



teach pupils how to adjust to the world around them, and because religious instruction is aimed at qualifying unwarranted claims to absolute right."

In view of the disinterest and indifference to religious lessons in schools the question must be asked whether the process of de-Christianising in a republic in its 40th anniversary year, whose origins were clearly stamped with Christian characteristics, has progressed so far that no-one can be bothered even to contradict Christian teaching.

Are religious instruction teachers responsible for the widespread "could-not-care-a-damn" mentality?

That can hardly be the case, for Allensbach revealed that "religious instruction teachers were happy with their work and very committed to it, to an unexpected degree."

This was confirmed by Archbishop Degenhardt. The survey shows that two-thirds of these teachers enjoyed teaching this subject.

But obviously their enthusiasm does not spill over to their pupils enough. Religious instruction teachers know only too well that the lack of religion in Federal Republic society and the lack of religious upbring in the family puts insoluble problems before them.

How can they teach pupils about religion when they are older, when earlier they were not told about the basics?

Yet surveys show that 77 per cent of Catholic parents approve of religious instruction in schools, only four per cent maintained it was totally superfluous.

Only a few of them expected teachers in the subject to preach the Christian message, if need be Christian belief, for these still play a role in our culture.

Rarely did parents expect their children to be taught in religious instruction what the Church teaches.

In general parents wanted religious instruction to prepare boys and girls for life, make them considerate, tolerant and prepared to help in the important questions of life.

Religious instruction teachers are themselves part of the complexity of the religious education question. Although they commonly have more links to the Church than the average Roman Catholic — going to Church on Sunday, working with the community and Catholic organisations — many have "a complicated relationship to the Church as an institution."

Archbishop Degenhardt had to agree that "fewer tensions arose from their professional links with the Church than with the demands they made, particularly in the field of accepted morals."

There were difficulties, for instance, about the teaching of the indissolubility of marriage — and of course always with the Church's sexual morality.

German bishops naturally would like to see emphasis being given to the cultural significance of religious instruction in our secular society and, in addition, that the importance of religious instruction "within the dimensions of Church affairs" should be unambiguously presented.

This demand is primarily directed towards the 65,000 religious instruction teachers in the Federal Republic.

Pupils seem to see this quite differently. Younger pupils still place considerable significance on the Bible, although there is not much interest in learning the catechism.

As in other school subjects getting down to learning is not very popular.

In the upper classes interest in questions of belief and the subject matter of religious instruction, which directly concern Church life, declines rapidly...

Pupils and teachers are mainly interested in current problems. The older the pupils are the less interested they are in school prayers, which were accepted as a matter of course in the lower classes.

More than a half of the teachers, who taught pupils aged 15 and older, said they completely did without prayers.

Nevertheless pupils expected from their religious instruction teachers more personal faith and more involvement in the Church than they did from other teachers.

Pupils and teachers regard it as important that the religious instruction teacher should give special attention to each individual, be interested in each pupil, lend an understanding ear to the pupil's worries and always be there to listen and advise.

These wishes are often a far cry from reality. While 75 per cent of pupils would like to turn to their religious instruction teacher with their personal concerns, only 40 per cent of pupils believed that they could do this with their religious instructor.

As pupils get older and where there is little emphasis on religion in the home, there is an increased inclination among pupils to ask for permission to drop religious instruction.

In elementary and secondary modern schools less than five per cent opt out of this subject; in Bavarian and Baden-Württemberg, (both strongly Catholic) less than one per cent.

In the upper classes of gymnasiums, however, many pupils make use of their legal right to withdraw from religious instruction.

In Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg more than 10 per cent of gymnasium pupils take this course, in Hesse almost 20 per cent. According to Archbishop Degenhardt more than 20 per cent of pupils at North Rhine-Westphalia gymnasiums drop religious instruction.

Special reasons

There are special circumstances that explain this figure in North Rhine-Westphalia. Unlike other federal states, with the exception of West Berlin and Bremen, pupils who are "religiously mature" can ask for permission to drop religious instruction without having to attend a substitute lesson of some kind. In these states pupils who pull out of religious instruction lessons have free time.

This puts religious instruction teachers in North Rhine-Westphalia in a dilemma. They have to be "better" than the attractions of having time off from lessons. In North Rhine-Westphalia religious instruction, then, is put under severe disadvantages as compared with other school subjects.

The high rate of applications to pull out of religious instruction disturbes the churches — only every seventh Protestant and every tenth Catholic boy or girl at a gymnasium takes part in religious instruction lessons in the state.

Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, and his Education Minister, Hans Schwier, met considerable criticism of proposals to push aside the Church and religion from state schools.

They have answered these criticisms by suggesting that philosophy could be an alternative subject.

Representatives of the Church argue that if there is to be a "subsitute" for a subject for which there is fundamentally no alternative, then it should be geared towards ethics.

Politicians are responsible for the public weal. They are expected to concern themselves with making the coming generation familiar with the moral rules of society.

Representatives of the Church in North Rhine-Westphalia are therefore demanding that ethics should be introduced into schools in the state as the approved alternative subject.

Obviously religious instruction is something more than ethics, but ethics is somthing more than philosophy within the framework of this debate.

Ethics are geared to the moral requirements of our view of the world and people in it. The Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia should not be indifferent to that.

Martin Lohmann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 27 January 1989)

Continued from page 2

prepared to relinquish power, but the inclination to saddle the poorly organised Opposition with a share of responsibility is on the increase as Marxist nostrums fail to stabilise the economic and social situation.

That is why the round-table talks must not be regarded as a public forum at which the powers that be are intent on compromising Lech Walesa.

They are a desperate bid to bring about a coalition of common sense.

Whether the experiment succeeds will depend on the degree to which both sides are ready to compromise. In Poland, as in Hungary, the Party is well aware that it cannot retain total control without risking total bankruptcy.

The Opposition is well aware that the time is not ripe for a total power takeover. But the Communist power monopoly might well be ended.

The trend will be clearly apparent once legislation governing the establishment of new political parties has been passed.

If the powers that be in Warsaw and Budapest have last-minute cold feet and refuse to agree to the establishment of truly independent organisations, bids to come to terms with the Opposition will be doomed to failure.

The Czech Communist leaders have just closed the door to reform. They have no intention of conferring with opponents of the regime. Theirs is a "socialist" democracy and not any other form of rule.

That is the Party line of yesteryear! There are opponents of reform in Warsaw and Budapest, but their views no longer prevail. And that is a promising sign.

Wolfgang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 8 February 1989)

■ MOLECULAR BIOLOGY

Ethical dispute over eugenics is wrapping itself round this double helix

Anybody who wants to become somebody in the apparently golden age of modern biology joins in the deciphering, translation and interpretation of what scientists call "The Book of Man."

This is a misleading yet catchy reference to man's genetic make-up (genome) with its estimated three billion "letters."

Or, to put it in the language of the biochemicists, huge molecules of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) bundled together in a tiny cell nucleus.

After years and years of discussions within the researcher community on the best way to tackle the mammoth task the corresponding genetic projects are now moving along at a pace which has got many people worried.

In the United States the National Institute of Health (NIH) and the Department of Energy (DoE) agreed in 1988 to coordinate their future activities in this field.

The NIH and DoE want to invest $46m in genotypic analysis in 1989. Japan plans to integrate the genome project in its ambitious Human Frontiers Science Programme.

"Brussels says aim of project is to improve preventive medicine"

And Soviet molecular biologists have earmarked ten million roubles this year to stay in the race.

As a response to the international challenge, the European Community intends starting one of its biggest scientific projects so far, the programme: "Predictive Medicine: Analysis of the Human Genome".

Brussels will be channelling roughly DM30m into this project, providing the Council of Ministers gives the expected go-ahead in spring.

It is still not clear, however, whether it will accept the European Commission's proposal in its present form.

Brussels has already come in for some sharp criticism. Germany in particular has substantial misgivings about the project's openly eugenic objectives.

Eugenics is the study of human heredity patterns with the goal of improving the species through selective breeding.

"We cannot tolerate that something is being fostered in Europe which we hoped had been overcome in 1945," said CDU Bundestag MP, Heinrich Seesing.

Together with the other members of the Bundestag Research Committee he demands that the project's "eugenic justification should be dropped."

The Bundesrat, the upper house of the West German parliament, expressed similar criticism last November.

The European Community's envisaged programme could represent "a step along the way towards constitutionally unacceptable eugenics."

The European Commission in Brussels did not expect this kind of criticism. They claim that their project is intended as a means of improving preventive medicine.

In order to be able to do so the researchers will try to acquire the ability to locate all human hereditary dispositions along chromosones and thus be able "to predict and finally treat all genetically rooted disorders."

The Commission has not only got its sights set on the analysis of the classic hereditary disorders, such as haemophilia, Huntington's chorea — St Vitus's dance, during which the person affected suffers from uncontrolled jerky movements — or cystic fibrosis, which torments the carrier of the defective gene with thick mucus in the respiratory tracts.

All these afflictions are caused by a change in the sequence of links (mutation) in single gene.

The ambitious programme is also planned as a means of improving the diagnosis or even curing of illnesses caused by malformations in several cells or triggered by an environmental factors, such as diabetes, cancer, auto-immune disorders, serious psychoses and other significant diseases in western society.

Many researchers feel that the sights have been set too high.

In their endeavour to breed a healthy European population, however, the Eurocrats in Brussels apparently know no limits.

"As it is highly improbable that we will be able to completely eliminate *environmental risk factors it is important* to learn as much as possible about factors of genetic predisposition and thus find ways of identifying high-risk persons," say the officials.

For more common diseases "there will be a possibility of mass screening."

If need be, "the transmission of the hereditary genetic predisposition to future generations should be prevented." All this sounds very familiar.

Apart from the health aspect the Commission also intends promoting the biotechnological industry.

It is hoped that the project will "provide both new information and materials with a commercial potential."

Brussels estimates that there is a European market for the sale of DNA probes worth between DM2bn and DM4bn during the next 10 years. These probes will enable physicians to diagnose hereditary disorders.

The chairman of the Bundestag Rsearch Research Committee, Wolf-Michael Catenhusen (SPD), feels that this forecast is "far-fetched".

Yet even if Community officials completely reshape the current programme, give it a new name and drop the eugenic justification the departure of molecular biology into the world of the microcosm can no longer be prevented.

The Bundesrat and the Bundestag Research Committee have explicitly welcomed the intention to pool European activities in the field of genome analysis.

Genetic engineering critics, therefore, criticised that these two bodies have done no more than call for "cosmetic alterations", in line with the motto: a bit more ethics, please.

The 200 genetic researchers who gathered in Valencia (Spain) in October 1988 left no doubt about the importance they attach to this mammoth task.

During the workshop organised by the Humane Genome Organisation (Hugo) they declared that greater knowledge could be "of tremendous value for the health and well-being of mankind."

The stars of genetic research set up this organisation in summer last year to improve international coordination of genotypic analysis.

Molecular biologists have already deciphered fragments of the genome or at least located its position in the hereditary mass.

With roughly 1.9 million DNA components they determine which of the four letters of the genetic alphabet are involved. This means less than 0.1 per cent of the inventory of the nucleus.

Hugo chairman Viktor McKusik from the John Hopkins University in Baltimore (USA) has stored information on almost 4,400 hereditary features of human beings, whether on disorders, eye or hair colour, in his data bank OMIM (On line Medelian Inheritance in Man), the biggest collection of this kind in the world.

Scientists have already been able to assign about 1,200 genes to one of the 24 human chromosones.

In order to refine their knowledge about the genome the researchers have adopted a two-track approach.

On one track, from top to bottom, they are trying to localise (mapping) human characteristics so as to develop an increasingly differentiated list of contents of the genetic book.

On the second track, from bottom to top, they employ highly sophisticated biochemical methods to analyse the sequence of the DNA components (sequencing), thus deciphering, as it were, the words in the book letter by letter.

One days the two tracks will join together. Until this happens, however, there is a long way to go. Genetic researchers are still laboriously groping their way along the chromosones.

They cut up the DNA using the molecular scissors of genetic engineeing, the restriction enzymes, and compare the resultant patterns.

In extended families the genetic researchers examine whether an hereditary feature, for example, a disorder, occurs in conjunction with an identifiable pattern.

"Intention is to prevent transmission of hereditary disease predisposition"

The more frequently genetic markers and features are jointly transmitted, the closer they are on the DNA thread.

The leading international institution in this field of gene-combination mapping is the *Centre d'Etude due du Polymorphisme Humain* (CEPH), the centre for the study of human polymorphism in Paris.

The CEPH was founded by the French Nobel prizewinner for Medicine, Jean Dausset, in 1983.

Together with the Howard Hughes Medical Institute in Salt Lake City the CEPH carries out analyses of the DNA of about 600 people from 40 extended families.

The French researchers are currently about to cover the human genome with a fine-mesh network of markers.

How fast the biochemicists move along the bottom-to-top track depends on the efficiency of the machines used to help them carry out the monotonous task of sequencing.

Above all, Japan and the USA have entered into a proper race to see who can construct the best machines.

The Book of Man is certainly not going to be a closed book. In comparison with the enormous amount spent by other countries on genome research the European Community's DM30m, spread out over three years, looks pretty modest.

The blunt argumentation forwarded by the Europeans, however, has triggered a controversial discussion about the ethical and social questions raised by the attack on human genes.

The eugenic overtones are definitely audible in all international projects in this field, even though researchers do their best to avoid this expression.

In his book *Leben auf Bestellung* (Life Custom-Made) theologian Günter Altner points towards the risks of genetic research: "The history of modern genetics is the history of the dangerous temptations of eugenics...

"Must be no legal or social obligation to take part in genetic screening"

"From the very start the objective was the selection, prevention and destruction of the biologically and hereditarily 'inferior', whatever that was taken to mean."

Admittedly, molecular biology paves the way for a clean hereditary medicine.

As sociolgist Ulrich Beck from Bamberg pointed out "the eugenics of the future does not directly relate to body and soul."

In Beck's opinion the abstract test-tube eugenics of the future undermines discrimination and killing in the preventive-cum-technical sphere.

Does the ability to confirm hereditary predispositions of an unborn child become a "commitment to refrain from reproduction or to abort the foetus affected?," asks science researcher Wolfgang van den Daele from the University of Bielefeld. Will preventive possibilities be followed by preventive constraints?

He regards the idea that the eugenic strategy "could in future produce children who are compeltely healthy and normal" as a "dangerous illusion."

Once medical researchers are able to *diagnose diseases* years before they actually occur this will lead to an inevitable dilemma.

The interest of governments in organising an effective system of preventive care will frequently clash with the interest of the individual to decide for himself which risks he is willing to take or willing to accept for his children.

What happens, for example, if researchers discover the DNA predisposition to a cardiac infarction or at least believe that they have made this discovery?

Health insurance companies are bound to be keen on minimising all risks. Could this lead to a life-long ban for certain people on eating a juicy joint of pork or smoking cigarettes?

Van den Daele advocates the protection of individual freedom: "The princi-

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■ CAUSES

Professional recognition for housewives sought

Gesa Ebert, 35, who has three children, and Karin Schach, 40, who has one child, have been elected to the board of management of the Baden-Württemberg German Housewives Trade Union, founded just a year ago.

The nation-wide union was set up in 1979 in Kiel and has so far 4,000 members, 10 per cent of them men.

The Baden-Württemberg branch has only 250 members. Both women, utterly committed trades unionists, say that "housewives are the pariahs of the nation."

Karin Schach says: "When I am asked what is my profession and I say housewife the person who has asked me looks amazed."

She said that when she thinks of her mother who raised two children, looked after their grandmother and now gets a pension of DM300 a month, "I see red."

The two women extend their interests beyond those held by the Housewives Union. Karin Schach said: "We have political demands, the union does not."

One of their demands is equal responsibility in handling the family income. Then they demand more parental allowance (paid for raising children), and "pay for family work."

They see the dilemma in their work: the lack of solidarity among housewives. Frau Ebert said: "Housewives say: I'm looked after why do I need a trade union?" She said her work in the union was like battling with windmills, but it is helped by public relations and propaganda by word of mouth.

They both say that a halt must be made to spoken discrimination. Remarks such as "Oh, you don't work," made to a housewife, for instance.

Discrimination raised its ugly head in compension for the death of a housewife in an accident, 30 to 40 per cent lower than for a person employed. The union claims that "being a housewife must be recognised as a profession with all that follows on from that." Karin Schach said: "Our Sunday work is praised a lot but on the other band we are nothing more than shoe-polishers."

Her hope is that wage earning and looking after the family will be divided between husband and wife and that wages will be paid for working for the family.

Frau Ebert said: "Society should be responsible for that. That would be real equality in the family."

She said that politicians "should not tell us what is good for us, but listen to us and take our proposals seriously."

"We want equal opportunities and a state salary for family work, by reshuffling funds." She suggested that childless couples should pay more social security contributions.

Both women regard their battle as "safeguarding and pushing through the interests of the family."

Both would like to see more men in the union, "in order to strengthen the union's defenses." Against whom? Frau Ebert said: "We have made a declaration of war against the state."

Both woman maintain that the state has failed to observe its responsibilities legally and socially to housewives.

The union regards the organs of state, that is Parliament and the government, as "party to a collective agreement between employers and employees" when it comes to pushing through their union demands.

Frau Ebert pointed out that the Housewives Union was not associated with the Confederation of German Trades Unions and wants to avoid any change of status.

Lotte Schnedler

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 14 January 1989)



Housewives are the nation's pariahs, say activists Schach and Ebert. (Photo: Kaufmann)

Advice centre for victims of modern-day slave trading

Allgemeine Zeitung MAINZ

Landhausstrasse 62 in Stuttgart is a well-known address among Thai and Filipino girls in Germany.

It has become a kind international women's centre to help girls and women tangled up in the vicious business of trafficking in humans, the modern-day version of slave trading.

The Stuttgart Women's Information Centre (FIZ) celebrated its first anniversary at the end of last year.

In this first year, more than 50 women, all from Third World countries, were helped in situations of dire need.

Another 250 were given advice on legal and social matters. But the organisation knows it is merely touching on the problem.

According to estimates in Bonn traffickers lure well over 10,000 women and girls to Germany each year under false pretences. Those who come are then forced to become prostitutes or to marry against their will.

The men they marry have usually "ordered" the women like a product in a catalogue.

Most of the women who pluck up the courage to go along to IZ are from Thailand and the Philippines.

With the help of regular meetings and language courses a kind of network was established within which the women were able to experience group solidarity and receive concrete assistance in their day-to-day situation.

Plenty of evidence has been gathered in the FIZ centre showing that the women were exploited in their situation of need and then enticed to come to the Federal Republic of Germany.

They believed that they would find a decent job or marry a good husband. According to Social Affairs Minister in Baden-Württemberg, Barbara Schäfer, however, "in reality many of these women live in distress and urgently need help."

In the FIZ these women are able to establish contact with other women.

It is hoped that the suggestions and information provided there will encourage them to take their own decisions and help themselves.

The model Women's Information Centre project receives an annual DM50,000 from the *Land* of Baden-Württemberg.

In the meantime numerous enquiries have been made by other federal states and by other countries about experiences and concepts in the FIZ.

The Bonn Youth, Family, Affairs and Health Ministry has shown its particular interest in this new initiative providing assistance in the form of scientific back-up activities.

Waldemar Kelb

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 28 January 1989)

Helping women become politically aware

One of the most tradition-conscious women's organisations in Germany, the Office for Civil Women's Counselling, is not easy to find.

Its office, with its unassuming and weather-beaten enamel name-plate, is in a small side-street off one of Wiesbaden's pedestrian precincts.

The organisation, which has existed without party-political affiliation for over 36 years, functions as a contact centre for the various women's associations and groups in the *Land* of Hesse and works together with women members of the Hesse state assembly in Wiesbaden.

The chairman is appointed on an annual rotation basis by the respective parliamentary parties.

The shelves in the three small rooms in the Faulbrunnenstrasse are stacked to the ceiling with books and brochures on the old and the new women's movements and on historical and more up-to-date topics.

The centre's secretary, Helga Leichert-Boos, explains:

"As a non-party and non-denominational institution, our goal is to combine the role of women with the exertion of political influence.

"We encourage responsible involvement in political activity and give women the tools they need to put this into practice."

After the war, the few surviving veteran feminist campaigners from the old women's movement, which fought for equal rights at all levels between 1919 and 1933, soon joined forces with younger campaigners and founded the Working Circle of Hessian Woman's Associations. The "Office" became its cooperation centre and headquarters. That was in 1952

From the start, practical work involved a wide range of activities and events which adjusted flexibly to the existing political circumstances.

In seminars, conferences and panel discussions women from all walks of life — mothers, housewives, working women — can let themselves be informed about social and political issues.

The office also acts as an agent for speakers who try to give women the information they need to become active themselves.

The objective is to show women how to voice and push through their own interests, which is not always easy to learn.

The special concept deliberately takes into account the numerous demands made on women in our society. Child care and education is a must for supra-regional activities. Irrespective of whether the subject is genetic engineering or female-male body language, anyone interested can come along to the venues of the talks and conferences in Hesse.

The regional events are a special feature. Learning to speak in public without consulting notes and discussions about the "Cinderella complex" or the question of whether "all men are brothers" are just some of the interesting activities.

Groups and associations from the whole of Hesse can inquire about speakers.

The speaker then comes and works together with the local women's initiative groups.

Educational holidays, guided tours (for example, through the Hesse broadcasting station) and day trips (to the Bundestag in Bonn or the European Parliament in Strasbourg) also give an insight into possible political activities.

The administration of the Hesse Women's Council (a conglomeration of all 43 Hessian women's groups) is also managed by the Office for Civil Women's Counselling.

Gesine Werner

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 28 January 1989)

■ LUFTWAFFE UNDER PRESSURE

Controversy over low-level-flights

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

The Temme family's red-brick house sits in an idyllic setting between meadowland and hedges. From her front window, Heike Temme can see Tornado fighter-bombers and Phantoms over the East Frisian countryside heading out to sea or returning to base at Jever or Wittmund.

Frau Temme, a 25-year old blonde, sits with her four-year-old son in the kitchen looking through a picture book. Her four-month old daughter is asleep in the children's room upstairs.

The Temme family, just like their neighbours, has got used to the scream of jet engines. It has had to.

Heike's husband, Eike, is somewhere out there in the sky, sitting at the controls of a Luftwaffe Phantom. *Fliegerhauptmann* Temme and his *Waffensystemoffizier* are making an interception practise sortie out over the North Sea.

They are part of the 2,000-man Richthofen Wing, which is based at Wittmund. The 30-year-old squadron leader is one of about 100 pilots and observers at the base who fly about 8,000 sorties a year with the squadron's 30 aircraft. Each crew spend between one and two hours a day in the cockpit and, on average, flies two sorties a day.

Geschwaderkommodore Dirk Böcker, 44, says this is the minimum amount of training needed to train aircrew. In hostilities, his aircraft must be able to search for and engage low-flying Warsaw Pact aircraft.

Böcker says: "Nato lays down that each pilot should put in 240 flying hours a year. But we in the Luftwaffe alone have reduced it to 180 hours. Many of these hours are flown in Canada, Sardinia, Portugal and other sparsely populated areas."

But politicians of all colours and various peace groups and citizens initiatives are not satisfied with this because of recent crashes.

On Böcker's office table, there is a pile of press clippings with headlines like: "1,500 protest in Wittmund against low-level flights and aircraft noise"; or "School boycott in Hinrichsfehn;" and "Aurich parish calls for immediate flight ban".

Böcker and his men are affected by the protests. But they feel that the public don't fully understand what they are doing and they criticise the attitude of their political masters.

Böcker: "We didn't give ourselves the order to fly. We're merely trying to fulfil the demands of the politicians. What is important here is the assessment of the threat and not the vote-begging utterances of politicians before some election or other."

Although some groups try and classify the pilots as "air rockers" or "low-flying rowdies", the attitude in Wittmund itself is much more positive. The Lower Saxon Social Democrat member of parliament, Udo Könnecke, said at a recent demonstration that the issues of defending the country and low-level flying should not be confused: "Don't blame our pilots. Political leadership is to blame."

You'll hear me later. *Fliegerhauptmann* Temme leaves for work. (Photo: Spiegl)

At the same demonstration, another SPD politician, Carl Ewen, came out clearly against low-level flights.

Citizens' initiatives use full-page advertisements in the regional press, with headlines such as "Enough is enough", to demand a general ban on low-level flights as well as a drastic reduction in all military flying and sweeping cuts in armaments instead of modernisation.

The advertisements refer to sleep troubles and behaviourial problems among children and talk about protecting old people. According to some advertisements, it is these very old people who are meant to be protected by the fliers who instead tremble in fear of them and feel themselves threatened by the country's defence policies.

In the village of Ardorf, which lies close to the Richthofen Squadron airbase, the people are sympathetic towards the pilots. "Our sons are serving there, our men and women work in the base fire brigade, as mechanics or in the administration", is the attitude.

A woman who has a *Lokal* renowned as the place to go if you want to find out anything, says: "Pilots and their families are members of our clubs, they are our neighbours and they play with our children. They're not anonymous as they would be in a big city." She trusts the airbase and doesn't believe there is an excessive amount of flying.

Wolfgang Mazcyk is the base's press officer. He illustrates the close relationship between airbase and village by quoting statistics: squadron wages are 75 million marks a year, which is spent in the area. The base employs 500 civilians and trains about 70 apprentices every year. On average, the base places orders worth 13 million marks.

The squadron is making efforts to reduce the annoyance of the flying. Böcker: "There is a *voluntary midday break* and occasions such as funerals are not disturbed. People are told through newspapers when practice flights are to be made."

Airmen have felt for a long time that they have been badly treated by the politicians and left to their fates by the top military brass.

Gerd Scheller, 38, an airman with four children, is also chairman of the local branch of BSK, a group comprising 12 branches which 90 per cent of Luftwaffe aircrew belong to. Now it has been making its opinions known in Bonn.

It aims to improve the public image of airmen; to improve pay and to fight for higher pensions after they stop flying, usually at the age of 41.

Scheller: "We are prepared to fulfil our tasks without ifs and buts. That includes performing difficult manoeuvres such as low-level flying. But at the same time, we demand support from the politicians and our military superiors so we can work freely."

BSK rejects transferring more low-level flight training to other countries, at least under current conditions. It says that crew already spend too long in foreign countries away from their families.

It says that other Nato countries allow generous allowances for service outside national borders, German families get only 16 marks a day extra — not even enough for a long-distance telephone call. It is clear that dissatisfaction is growing.

In spite of all the resentment at the base, Heike Temme is happy that her husband has parked their red Volkswagen Passat outside after at last returning safely home. Now it is the turn of the night shift to climb into the cockpit and scream off into the evening sky.

Jochen Wagner

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 27 January 1989)

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ple of self-determination remains a barrier to social rationalisation. This must also apply to strategies of genetic prevention. There must be no legal or social obligation to take part in genetic screening." The right "not to know" must be safeguarded,

In a special report compiled on behalf of the Bundestag Research Committee, Green Euro-MP, Benedikt Härlin, regards the attempt to "one-sidedly objectify illness as a genetic function" as "extremely questionable in medical terms."

A pychosis or heart and circulatory disorders are reduced to mere defects in man's biochemical structure.

The authors of an extensive study by the American Office for Technology Assessment (OTA) emphasised that it is more important to "give individuals care, warmth and trust, since an individual is not just the embodiment of a genetic formula."

There are tremendous misgivings about efforts to lay bare the human genome. The hopes of researchers that this may help them achieve a greater understanding of what makes homo sapiens tick, however, are much greater.

American Nobel prizewinner Renato Dulbecco prophesied that "the sequence will open a new window to humane biology." One can only hope that the scientists don't lean out too far.

Klaus Bachmann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 3 February 1989)

Pilots air their grievances in Bonn

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

"Pressure four times the force of gravity presses me back into the seat. My arms are as heavy as lead. I can hardly hold my head up. Our speed is 13 kilometres a minute or 216 metres a second."

That is an excerpt from a flight report by a member of a Tornado fighter-bomber crew. There are 1,500 jet pilots in the Luftwaffe and they fly about 165 hours a year including 25 hours of low-level flight over Germany.

Low-level flight has become a subject of much public controversy because of recent accidents and because of aircraft noise. The controversy has hit the self-confidence of pilots, who have always been regarded as an elite.

Now they have organised themselves into an association called BSK and have brought their grievances out in the open. Almost 1,200 pilots are members of the organisation, which has grown out of moves by the pilots in 1987 to organise themselves.

A poll has shown that 173 of them are seriously considering resigning their commissions. Only 1 per cent said their motivation was "very high." Eleven per cent said it was "high".

Altogether 676 officers were questioned: *43 per cent said their motivation was average*; 39 per cent described it as "low"; and 6 per cent "about zero".

Spokesman Karl-Heinz Reichenwallner, an eloquent Bavarian *Luftwaffenhauptmann*, sees a security policy argument dealing with fundamental questions being played out with his fellow flyers as unwilling pawns in the game.

He says: "Issues such as aircraft noise and low-level flights are being used as a vehicle with the aim of dismantling the armed forces." The feeling of "being called more and more into question" was even strengthening the material dissatisfaction of aircrew.

They argue that it was only last year that the flying allowance was raised from 350 a month to 500 marks but this increase is not included when, at the age of 41, they are given a pension of 55 per cent of pay and stop flying.

According to the Defence Ministry, a 32-year-old Tornado pilot with two children earns almost 4,400 marks a month after tax. But the fliers don't compare themselves only with other armed forces positions but with pilots in civil aviation, where a pilot can easily earn more than 12,000 marks a month.

In discussions in Bonn between senior Luftwaffe brass, politicians and aircrew representatives, the airmen were advised not to push their case too hard.

They were told that improvements would only be considered in the context of improvements for all members of the armed forces.

A senior Luftwaffe general said he knew of no pilot having left the Luftwaffe who had had any real difficulty forging a second career as a pilot.

Thomas Kröter

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 1 February 1989)